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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.



ROMAN SECTION.

PART II.

CATO THE YOUNGER, TO POMPEY THE GREAT.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

LANGHORNE TRANSLATION.

Text and Notes Complete and Revised, with Index.


ROMAN SECTION.

PART II.

CATO THE YOUNGER, TO POMPEY THE GREAT.



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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

LUCULLUS.

THE grandfather of Lucullus was a man of consular dignity ; Metellus, surnamed Numidicus, was his uncle by his mother's side. His father was found guilty of embezzling the public money, and his mother, Cæcilia, had but an indifferent reputation for chastity. As for Lucullus himself, while he was but a youth, before he solicited any public charge, or attempted to gain a share in the administration, he made his first appearance in impeaching Servilius the augur, who had been his father's ■■■■■. As he had caught Servilius ■■■■■ act of injustice in the execution of his office, all the world commended the prosecution, and talked of it as an indication of extraordinary spirit. Indeed, where there was no injury to revenge, the Romans considered the business of impeachments as a generous pursuit, and they chose to have their young men fasten upon criminals, like so many well-bred hounds upon their prey.

The cause ■■■■■ argued with so much vehemence, that they ■■■■■ to blows, and ■■■■■ were wounded, and ■■■■■ killed ; in the end, however, Servilius ■■■■■ acquitted. But though Lucullus ■■■■■ his cause, ■■■■■ had great command both of the Greek and Latin tongues ; inasmuch that Sylla dedicated his Commentaries ■■■■■ him, as ■■■■■ person who could reduce the acts and incidents ■■■■■ much better order, and compose a more agreeable history of them, than himself. For his eloquence was not only occasional, ■■■■■ exerted when necessity called for it, like that of other ■■■■■ who ■■■■■

■■■■■ ■■■■■ ■■■■■ forum,
■■■■■ sport the vaulting fancy in the main,
but when they ■■■■■ out of it,
■■■■■ dry, inelegant, and dead,—

applied himself to the sciences, and in his deep study of *humanity* from his youth; in his withdrawal from public labours, of which he had had a great share, himself in the bosom of philosophy, and to enjoy the speculations suggested; bidding a timely adieu after with Pompey. To have said of his ingenuity in languages, the following story may be added. When he was but a youth, he was jesting one day with Hortensius the orator, and Sisenna the historian, he undertook to write a short history of the Marsi, either in Greek or Latin verse, as the lot should fall. They took him his word, and, according to lot, it was in Greek. That history of his is

Among the many proofs of his affection for his brother Marcus, the Romans speak of the first. Though he was older than Marcus, he would not accept any without him, but waited his time. This was so agreeable to the people, that in his absence they created him *adile* along with his brother.

Though he was but a stripling at the time of the war, there appeared many instances of his courage and understanding. But Sylla's attachment to him was principally owing to his constancy and mildness. On this he made use of his services from first to last in his most important affairs. Amongst other things, he gave him the direction of the mint. It was he who coined most of Sylla's money in Peloponnesus during the Mithridatic war. From him it was called *Lucullia*; and it continued to be chiefly in use for the occasions of the army, for the goodness of it made it pass with ease.

Some time after this Sylla engaged in the siege of Athens; and though he was victorious by land, the superiority of the enemy at sea straitened him for provisions. For this reason he despatched Lucullus into Egypt and Libya, to procure him a supply of ships. He then, in the depth of winter; yet he scrupled not to sail with three small Greek brigantines and as many small Rhodian galleys, which were in strong seas, and a number of the enemy's ships which kept watch on all sides, because their strength lay there. In spite of this opposition he reached Crete, and brought it into Sylla's interest.

From thence he passed to Cyrene, where he delivered the people from the tyrants and civil wars with which they had been harassed, and re-established their constitution. In this he availed himself of the saying of Plato, who when he was desired to give them a body of laws, and to settle their government upon rational principles, gave them this oracular answer: "It is very difficult to give laws to so prosperous a people." The fact, *nothing is harder than to govern a people when Fortune smiles, nor anything more tractable than when calamity lays her hand upon him.* Hence it was that Lucullus found the Cyrenians so pliant and submissive to his regulations.

From Cyrene he sailed to Egypt, but was attacked by pirates on his way, and lost some of the vessels he had collected.

escaped, entered the port of Alexandria in a magnificent manner, being conducted in by the whole Egyptian fleet off to the best advantage, as it used to be when it attended the king in person. Ptolemy, who was but a youth, received him with all demonstrations of respect, and even lodged and provided him with a palace; an honour which had been granted to no other any foreign commander. Nor was the allowance for his expenses the same which others had, but four times as much. Lucullus, however, took no more than was absolutely necessary, and refused the king's presents, though he offered him more than the value of his talents. It is said, he neither visited Memphis, nor any other of the celebrated wonders of Egypt; thinking rather the business of a person who has time, and only travels for pleasure, of him who had his general engaged in a siege, and encamped before the enemy's fortifications.

Ptolemy refused to enter into alliance with Sylla for fear of bringing upon himself, but he gave Lucullus a convoy to Cyprus, embraced him on parting, and respectfully offered him a rich emerald in gold. Lucullus at first declined it, but upon the king's showing him his picture engraved on it, he was afraid to refuse it, lest he should be thought to go away with hostile intentions, and in consequence have some fatal scheme formed against him at sea.

In return he collected a number of ships from the maritime towns, excepting those that had given shelter and protection to pirates, and with this fleet he passed over to Cyprus. There he found that the enemy's ships lay in wait for him under some point of land, and therefore he laid up his fleet, and wrote to the cities to provide him quarters and all necessaries, as if he intended to winter there. But soon as the wind served, he immediately launched again, and proceeded on his voyage, lowering his sails in the day-time, and hoisting them again when it was dark; by which stratagem he got safe to Rhodes. There he got a fresh supply of ships, and found it easy to persuade the people of Cos and Cnidus to quit Mithridates, and join him against the Samians. With his forces he drove the king's troops out of Chios; took Epigonus, the Colophonian tyrant prisoner, and set the people free.

At this time Mithridates began to abandon Pergamus, and retired to Pitana. As Fimbria shut him up by land, he cast his eyes upon the sea, and in despair of facing in the field that brave and victorious officer, collected his ships from all quarters. Fimbria knew this, but was sensible of his want of naval strength, and therefore wrote to Lucullus to come with his fleet, and assist him in taking a king who was most warlike and virulent against the Romans had. "Let not Mithridates," said he, "the

1. Ptolemy was king till 80 B.C. must, therefore, have

Lethyren. For the

obstinate. Upon ■■■ ■■ against them with ■■ fleet, ■■■ ■■ a great battle, and shut them up within their walls. Some days after he had begun the siege, he ■■■ to this stratagem. In open day he ■■■ towards Elea, but returned privately ■■ night, and lay close near the city. The Mityleneans then sallying ■■ in ■■ and disorderly manner to plunder his camp which they thought he ■■ abandoned, he fell upon them, took ■■ of them prisoners, ■■■ 500 who stood upon their defence. Here he got 6,000 slaves, ■■■ immense quantity of other spoil.

He had ■■ hand in the various and unspeakable evils which Sylla and Marius brought upon Italy; for by the favour of Providence he ■■ engaged in the affairs of Asia. Yet ■■ of Sylla's friends had greater interest with him. Sylla, ■■ of particular regard dedicated his Commentaries to ■■■; and passing Pompey by, in his last will constituted him guardian to his son. This ■■■ to have ■■■ occasioned those differences and that jealousy which subsisted between Pompey and Lucullus, both young ■■ and full of ardour in the pursuit of glory.

A little after the death of Sylla, Lucullus was chosen consul along with Marcus Cotta, about Olympiad 176. At this time many proposed to renew the war with Mithridates, and Cotta himself said, "The fire was not extinguished, it only slept in embers." Lucullus, therefore, was much concerned at having the Cisalpine Gaul allotted ■■ his province, which promised him no opportunity to distinguish himself. But the honour Pompey had acquired in Spain gave him ■■ trouble; because that general's superior reputation, he clearly saw, after the Spanish war ■■ ended, would entitle him to the command against Mithridates. Hence it was, that when Pompey applied for money, and informed the government, that if he was not supplied, he must leave Spain and Sertorius, and bring his forces back to Italy, Lucullus readily exerted himself ■■ procure the supplies, and to prevent his returning upon any pretext whatever during his consulship. He knew that every measure ■■ home would be under Pompey's direction, if he ■■■ with such ■■ army. For, at this very time, *the tribune Cethegus, who had the lead, because he consulted nothing but the humour of the people,* ■■ at enmity with Lucullus, ■■ account of his detesting ■■ tribune's life, polluted ■■ it was with infamous amours, insolence, and every species of profligacy. Against this ■■■ declared open ■■ Lucius Quintius, another tribune, wanted ■■ annul the acts of Sylla, and to disorder the whole face of affairs, which ■■■ tolerably composed. But Lucullus, by private representations and public remonstrances, drew him from his purpose, and restrained ■■ ambition. Thus, in the ■■ polite and salutary way imaginable, ■■ destroyed the seeds of ■■ very dangerous disease.

About this time news ■■ brought of the death of Octavius, governor of Cilicia. There were many competitors for that province, and they all paid their court to Cethegus, as ■■ person ■■■ likely to procure it for them. Lucullus set no great value

upon government ; but, as it was near Cappadocia, he concluded, if he could obtain it, that the Romans would employ any other general against Mithridates. For this reason he exerted all his to the province. At last he was necessitated, against the bent of his disposition, to give in to which he deemed indirect and illiberal, but very conducive to his purpose.

There was a then in Rome named Præcia, famed for beauty and enchanting wit ; but in other respects no better than a common prostitute. By applying her interest with those who frequented her house and were fond of her company, to her friends in the administration and in other affairs, she added to her other accomplishments the reputation of being a useful friend and a woman of business. This exalted her not a little. But when she had captivated Cethegus, who was then in the height of his glory, she carried him before him in Rome, the whole power fell into her hands. Nothing was done without the favour of Cethegus, nor by Cethegus, without the consent of Præcia. To her Lucullus applied by presents and the most insinuating compliments ; nor could any thing have been more acceptable to a vain and pompous woman, than to see herself flattered and courted by such a man as Lucullus. The consequence was, that Cethegus immediately espoused his cause, and solicited for him the province of Cilicia. When he had gained this, he had no farther need either of Præcia or Cethegus. All was into his interest, and with one voice gave him the command in the Mithridatic war. He indeed could not but be considered as the fittest person for that charge, because Pompey was engaged with Scæpius, and Metellus had given up his pretensions on account of his great age ; and these the only persons who could stand in competition for it with Lucullus. However, his colleague Cotta, by much application, prevailed upon the senate to send him with a fleet to guard the Propontis, and to protect Bithynia.

Lucullus, with a legion now levied in Italy, passed into Asia, where he found the of the troops that compose his army. These had all been long entirely corrupted by luxury and avarice ; and that part of them called Fimbrians was untractable than the rest, on account of their having been under command. At the instigation of Fimbria they killed Flaccus, who was consul and their general too, and betrayed Fimbria himself to Sylla ; and they still mutinous and lawless men, though in other respects brave, hardy, and experienced soldiers. Nevertheless Lucullus in a little time subdued the seditious spirit of these men, and corrected the faults of the rest : so that they first found a real commander, whereas before they had been brought to seem by indulgence every promise of pleasure.

The affairs of the enemy were in posture. Mithridates, like a sophistical warrior, had formerly the Romans in a vain and manner, with forces very showy and pompous indeed, of little power and of no service in his hands.

grew wiser, and therefore ■■■ second ■■■ he provided troops that ■■■ capable of real service. He retrenched that mixed multitude of nations, and those bravadoes that were issued from his camp in ■ barbarous variety of language, together with the rich ■■■ adorned with gold and precious stones, which he now considered rather ■■■ spoils of the conqueror than as adding any vigour to the ■■■ that wore them. Instead of this, ■■■ armed them with swords in the Roman fashion, and with large and heavy shields; and ■■■ cavalry he provided with horses rather well-trained than gaily accoutred. His infantry consisted of 120,000, and ■■■■ of 16,000, besides armed chariots ■■■ the number of a hundred. *His navy was not equipped, as before, with gilded pavilions, baths, and delicious apartments for the women, but with all ■■■■ of weapons offensive and defensive, and money ■■■ pay ■■■ troops.*

In this respectable form he invaded Bithynia, where the cities received him with pleasure; and not only that country, but all Asia returned to its former distempered inclinations, by reason of the *intolerable evils that the Roman usurers and lux-gatherers had brought upon them.* These Lucullus afterwards drove away, like so many harpies which robbed the poor inhabitants of their food. At present he was satisfied with reprimanding them, and bringing them ■■■ exercise their office with more moderation; by which means ■■■ kept the Asiatics from revolting, when their inclination lay almost universally that way.

While Lucullus ■■■ employed in ■■■■ matters, Cotta, thinking he had found his opportunity, prepared to give Mithridates battle. And ■■■ he had accounts from many hands, that Lucullus was coming up, and was already encamped in Phrygia, he did every thing to expedite the engagement, in order ■■■ prevent Lucullus from having any share in the triumph, which he believed was ■■■ all his ■■■■. He ■■■ defeated, however, both by sea and land, with the loss of sixty ships and all their crews, ■■■ well ■■■ 4,000 land forces; after which he ■■■ shut up in Chalcedon, and had ■■■■ except in ■■■ assistance of Lucullus. Lucullus ■■■ advised, notwithstanding, ■■■ take no notice of Cotta, but ■■■ march forward into the kingdom of Mithridates, which he would find in a defenceless ■■■■. On this occasion the soldiers were loudest in their complaints. They represented that Cotta had, by his rash counsels, ■■■ only ruined himself and his ■■■■ men, but done them ■■■■ great prejudice; since, ■■■ ■■■ been for his error, they might have conquered without loss. ■■■ Lucullus, in ■■■ set speech upon this subject, told them, "*He had rather deliver ■■■ Roman out of the ■■■■ hand ■■■■ all ■■■■ enemy had.*" And when Archelaus, who formerly ■■■■ commanded the king's forces in Bœotia, ■■■ now ■■■ come ■■■■ the Romans and fought for them, asserted, "That if Lucullus would but once ■■■■ his appearance in Pontus, all would immediately ■■■ before ■■■;" ■■■ said, "He would ■■■■ in ■■■ more cowardly ■■■■ hunters, ■■■ pass ■■■ wild beasts by, ■■■ go to their empty dens." ■■■ had ■■■ sooner uttered these

words, than he marched against Mithridates with 30,000 foot, and 2,500 horse.

When he got sight of the enemy, he ■■■ astonished ■■■ their numbers, and determined ■■■ avoid ■■■ battle and gain time. But Marius' a Roman officer, whom Sertorius had ■■■ to ■■■ of Spain with some troops, advanced to ■■■ Lucullus, and gave him the challenge. Lucullus accepted it, and put his army in order of battle. The signal was just ready ■■■ given, when, without any visible alteration, there was ■■■ sudden explosion in ■■■ air, and a large luminous body was ■■■ between the ■■■ armies; its form was like that of ■■■ large tun, and its colour that of molten silver. Both sides were so affected with the phenomenon, that they parted without striking a blow. This prodigy is said ■■■ have happened in Phrygia at ■■■ place called Otryæ.

Lucullus, concluding that no human supplies could be sufficient ■■■ maintain ■■■ many myriads ■■■ Mithridates ■■■, for any length of time, especially in presence of an enemy, ordered ■■■ of the prisoners to be brought before him. The first question ■■■ put to him was, how many there were in his mess, and the second, what provisions he had left in his tent. When he had this man's answer, he commanded him to withdraw; ■■■ then examined ■■■ second and a third in like manner. The next thing was to compare the quantity of provisions, which ■■■ had laid in, with the number of soldiers he had ■■■ support; by which he found that in three or four days they would be in ■■■ of bread-corn. This confirmed him in his design of gaining time; ■■■ he caused great plenty of provisions to be brought into his own camp, that ■■■ the midst of abundance he might watch the enemy's distress.

Notwithstanding this, Mithridates formed a design against the Cysiceniens, who ■■■ beaten in the late battle with Cotta, ■■■ Chalcedon, and had lost 3000 men and ■■■ ships. To deceive Lucullus, he decamped ■■■ after supper, one dark tempestuous night; and marched with so much expedition, ■■■ break ■■■ day he got before the town, and posted ■■■ mount Admetia.² As ■■■ Lucullus perceived he ■■■ gone, he followed his ■■■ ps; and without falling unawares upon the ■■■ the obscurity of ■■■ night, as he might easily have done, ■■■ reached the place of his destination, and ■■■ down ■■■ a village called Thraceia, the most commodious situation imaginable ■■■ guarding the roads and cutting off the enemy's convoys.

He ■■■ so ■■■ of his aim that he concealed ■■■ no longer from ■■■ men; but when they ■■■ entrenched themselves, ■■■ returned from their labour, called them together, and told ■■■ with great triumph, "In a few days he would ■■■ a victory ■■■ cost one drop of blood."

1 Admetia calls for Marius.

2 So called from a temple in the city by Admetia to ■■■

Admetia, who from thence ■■■ of Admetia.

had planted his troops in posts about city, and with his vessels blocked up frith which parts from the continent,¹ so was invested sides. The Cyziceni- prepared to combat the greatest difficulties, and extremities in the Roman cause, but they knew not where Lucullus was, and were much concerned that they could get account of him. Though his camp visible enough, the enemy the to impose upon them. Pointing to Romans who posted the heights, "Do you see that army?" said they: "those are the Armenians and Medes, whom Tigranes has reinforcement to Mithridates." Surrounded with such immense number of enemies, as they thought, and having hope of relief but from the arrival of Lucullus, they the consternation.

When Demonax, whom Archelaus found to send into the town,² brought them that Lucullus was arrived, first they could hardly believe it, imagining he only with a feigned story, encourage them to bear up in their present distress. However, the same moment a boy made his appearance, who had been prisoner among the enemy, and had just made his escape. Upon their asking him where Lucullus was, he laughed, thinking them only in jest; but when he they were in earnest, pointed with his finger to the Roman camp. This sufficiently revived their drooping spirits.

In the Dascylitis, near Cyzicus, there of a considerable size. Lucullus up the largest of them, put it upon carriage, and drew it down the . Then he put board it many soldiers it could contain, and ordered them get into Cyzicus, which they effected in the night.

It too that Heaven, delighted with the valour of the Cyziceni- supported them with several remarkable signs. The feast of Proserpine come, when they sacrifice a black heifer her; and they had no living animal of kind, they made one of paste,³ and were approaching the altar with it. The victim, bred for that purpose, pastured with the rest of their cattle on the other side of frith. On that very day she parted from the herd, alone the town, and presented herself before altar. The goddess appeared Aristogoras, the public secretary, in a dream, and said, "Go and tell your fellow-citizens take for I shall bring the African piper against the trumpeter of Pontus."

 Cyziceni- wondering at this oracular expression, in morning a strong wind blew, and in the

¹ Strabo says, Cyzicus lies upon a the Propontis, and is an island joined to the continent by two bridges; which is a city of the same name, with capable of containing 200 vessels. STRABO. l. xli.

² By the of Medea's into the town. FLORUS, l. iii.

³ The Pythagoreans thought powerful any animal, seem to have been the among the Greeks who offered the figures of in ju-
lyria, or other composition.
poorer sort of figure are to
the same from another principle.

utmost agitation. The king's machines erected against the walls, the wonderful work of Nicomedes the Thessalian, by the noise and cracking first announced what was to come. Then a south wind incredibly violent arose; and in the short space of an hour broke all the engines in pieces and destroyed the wooden wall which was 100 cubits high. It is moreover related, that Minerva appeared by many signs to them in their sleep, covered with armour and with part of her veil; and that she said, she was just come from assisting the people of Cyzicus. Nay, they showed the Ilium pillar which bore an inscription to that effect.

As long as Mithridates was deceived by his officers, and kept in ignorance of the famine that prevailed in the camp, he lamented his miscarriage in the siege. But when he became sensible of the extremity to which his soldiers were reduced, and that they were forced even to eat human flesh,¹ all his ambition and spirit of contention died away. He made Lucullus make in a theatrical ostentatious manner, but aimed at blows very heart, and left nothing unattempted to deprive him of provisions. He therefore seized his opportunity while the Romans were attacking a certain fort, and sent off almost all his cavalry and his beasts of burden, as well as the least useful part of his infantry, into Bithynia.

When Lucullus was apprised of their departure he retired during the night into his camp. Next morning there was a violent storm; nevertheless he began the pursuit with ten cohorts of foot, and some cavalry. All the way he was greatly incommoded by the snow, and the cold was so piercing that several of his soldiers sunk under it, and were forced to stop. With the rest he overtook the king at the river Rhyndacus, and made such havoc among them, that the king's army of Apollonia came out to plunder the convoys and to strip the slain.

The slain, as may well be imagined, were very numerous, and Lucullus made 15,000 prisoners; besides which, he took 6000 horses and an infinite number of beasts of burden. And it was his business to lead them all by the enemy's camp.

I cannot help wondering at Sallust's saying, that it was the first time that the Romans saw a camel.² How could he think that those who formerly under Scipio conquered Antiochus and lately Archelaus at Orchomenus and Charonea, should be unacquainted with that animal?

The king resolved upon a speedy flight; and he

¹ It is extremely improbable in this. It does not appear that Mithridates was so totally blocked up by Lucullus as to reduce him to this extremity; and even had that been the case, it would certainly have been more eligible to have risked a battle, than to have submitted to the alternative here mentioned. We are expressly

told they had beasts to send away? There is, to the best of our knowledge and belief, no little story in this practice, as it is in nature.

² Livy expressly tells us, there were camels in the army; and the cavalry was placed in the front, as they were of species called *dromedarii*. Liv. lib. xlviii. c. 40.

Lucullus [REDACTED] employment [REDACTED] another quarter, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Aristonicus [REDACTED] the Grecian sea. [REDACTED] just [REDACTED] [REDACTED] on the point [REDACTED] sailing, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] betrayed to Lucullus, together with 10,000 pieces of gold, which [REDACTED] took with [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] some part of the Roman force. After this, Mithridates made [REDACTED] escape by sea, and left his generals to get off with the army in the best manner they could. Lucullus coming up with them at the river Granicus, killed [REDACTED] 20,000, and made a prodigious number of prisoners. [REDACTED] is said that in this campaign the enemy lost near 300,000 men, reckoning the [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] army [REDACTED] well as soldiers.

Lucullus immediately entered Cyzicum, where he [REDACTED] received with every testimony of joy and respect. After which [REDACTED] [REDACTED] to the Hellespont, [REDACTED] collect ships [REDACTED] make up a fleet. On this occasion he touched [REDACTED] Troas, and slept there in the temple of Venus. The goddess, he dreamed, stood by him, [REDACTED] addressed him as follows :

Dost thou then sleep, great monarch of the woods ?
The fawns are rushing near thee. —

Upon this he [REDACTED] and calling his friends together while it [REDACTED] yet dark, related to them the vision. He had hardly made an end, when messengers arrived from Ilium, with an account that they had seen off the Grecian harbour,¹ thirteen of the king's large galleys steering towards Lemnos. He went in pursuit of them without losing a moment, took them, and killed their admiral Isidorus. When this was done, he made all the sail he could after some others which were before. These lay at anchor by the island; and as soon as the officers perceived his approach, they hauled the ships ashore, and fighting from the decks, galled the Romans exceedingly. The Romans had no chance to surround them, [REDACTED] could their galleys, which [REDACTED] by the waves kept in continual motion, make any impression upon those of the enemy, which were [REDACTED] firm ground and stood immovable. At last, having with much difficulty found a landing place, he put [REDACTED] of his troops on shore, who taking them in the rear, [REDACTED] a number of them, and forced the [REDACTED] to cut their cables and stand out to [REDACTED]. In the confusion the vessels dashed [REDACTED] against another, or [REDACTED] upon the beaks of those of Lucullus. The destruction consequently was great. Marius, [REDACTED] general [REDACTED] by Sertorius, [REDACTED] among the prisoners. He had but [REDACTED] eye ; and Lucullus, when he first set sail, had given his [REDACTED] a strict charge not to kill [REDACTED] any person with [REDACTED] eye ; [REDACTED] order that he might [REDACTED] reserved for a death of greater [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

After this, he hastened [REDACTED] Mithridates himself, whom [REDACTED] hoped to [REDACTED] in Bithynia blocked up by Voconius. He [REDACTED] [REDACTED] this [REDACTED] [REDACTED] with a fleet to Nicomedia, [REDACTED] prevent the king's [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Voconius had [REDACTED] in Samothrace, about getting

¹ Plutarch means the harbour where the Grecians landed when they were going to the siege of Troy.

initiated in mysteries* and celebrating Mithridates in the meantime had got out, and making great reach Pontus before Lucullus could stop him. A violent tempest overtook him, by which many of his vessels were dashed in pieces and many sunk. The whole was covered with the wreck which the sea threw up for several days. As for the king himself, the ship in which he sailed was so large that the pilots could not make land with it amidst such a terrible agitation of the waves, and it was by that time ready to founder with the water it had taken in. He therefore got into a shallop belonging to some pirates, and trusting his life to their hands, beyond all hope, was brought safe to Heraclea in Pontus, having passed through the unspeakable dangers.

In this Lucullus behaved with the modesty of an honest pride, which had its success. They had decreed him 3,000 talents to enable him to outfit a fleet. He was acquainted by letters, that he had no need of money, and boasted that, without much expense and such mighty preparations, he would drive Mithridates out of the sea with the ships the allies would give him. And he performed his promise by the assistance of a inferior power. For the tempest, which ruined the Pontus, it is said to have been raised by the resentment of Diana of Ephesus, for their plundering her temple and beating down her statue.

Lucullus was advised by many of his officers to let the war sleep awhile: but, without regarding their opinion, he penetrated into the kingdom of Pontus, by way of Ruthynia and Galatin. At first he found provisions so scarce, that he was forced to have 30,000 Gauls follow him, with each a Medimnus of wheat on his shoulders. But as he proceeded further in his march, and bore down all opposition, he came to such plenty, that an ox was sold for one drachma, and a slave for four. The quantity of booty was so little regarded, that some left it behind them, and others destroyed it: for, amidst such abundance, they could not find a purchaser. Having, in the excursions of their cavalry, laid waste all the country as far as Themiscyræ and about the river Thermadon, they complained that Lucullus took all the spoil by capitulation, instead of storm, and gave not up to the soldiers for plunder. "Now," said they, "you leave Amisus, a rich and flourishing city, which might be easily taken, if you would assault it vigorously; and drag after Mithridates into the country of Tibarchia Chaldaea."

Lucullus, however, thinking they would break off that which afterwards appeared, neglected their

* The gods of the East were probably brought to the Romans by the Carians in the language of their country, and called powerful. They were reverenced as the most tremendous of superior beings: the

more so, because of the mysterious and awful solemnities of their worship. Some have pretended to give an account of their names, but they were all in the profoundest secrecy.

He pains himself those who blamed his and losing time in reducing villages consequence, while Mithridates again gathering power. "This the very thing," said he, "that I want, aim my operations, that Mithridates may get strength respectable enough stand an engagement, continue to fly before Do you see what boundless deserts behind him? Is Causacus, with immense train of mountains hand, sufficient to other kings who wish avoid a battle? It is but a few days' journey from the country of Cabiri into Armenia, where Tigranes, king of kings, seated, surrounded with that power which has wrested Asia from Parthians, which carries Grecian colonies into Media, *subdues Syria and Palestine*, off the Seleucidae, and carries their wives and daughters into captivity. This prince is nearly allied Mithridates is his son-in-law. Do you think he will disregard him, when comes suppliant, and take up in his cause? Why will you then such haste to drive Mithridates of his dominions, and risk the bringing Tigranes upon us, who has long wanted a pretence for it? And surely he cannot find more specious one, than that of succouring a father-in-law, and a king reduced such extreme necessity. What need is there then for us to ripen this affair, and to teach Mithridates what he may not know, who are the confederates he is to seek against us; to drive him, against his inclination and his notions of honour, into the of Tigranes? Is it not better give him time to make preparations and regain strength in his territories, that we may have the Colchians, the Tibarenians and Cappadocians, whom have often beaten, rather the unknown forces of the Medes the Armenians?"

Agreeably these sentiments, Lucullus spent a great of time Amisus, proceeding very slowly in the siege. After the winter was passed, left that charge to Murena, and marched against Mithridates, who was encamped the plains of the Cabiri, with a resolution wait for the Romans there. His army consisted of 40,000 foot and 4,000 horse, which he lately collected; in these placed the greatest confidence. Nay, passed the river Lycus, and the Romans the challenge him in the field. In consequence this, the cavalry gaged, and Romans put to the rout. Pomponius, a man of some dignity, was wounded and taken. Though much indisposed with his wounds, he was brought before Mithridates, who asked him, "Whether, saved life, he would become?" "On condition reconciled the Romans," he.

"Hence it appears, as well as from a passage in Strabo, that there was a district on the borders of Phrygia called Cabiri. Indeed the worship of these gods

had prevailed in several parts of Asia, and there are supposed to have had human, and them at Pome under the title of *Diæ Potæ*

" I will ! but if not, I must remain your enemy." The king, with admiration of patriotism, did him injury.

Lucullus apprehensive of danger on plain, of the enemy's superiority in horse, and yet he was take the mountains, which were at a considerable distance, as well as woody and of ascent. While he was in perplexity, some Greeks happened to be taken, who had hid themselves in a Artemidorus, the eldest of them, undertook to conduct him to a post where he might encamp in the security, and where there stood a castle which commanded the plain of the Cabiri. Lucullus gave credit his report, and began march in the night, after he caused a number of fires lighted old camp. Having got safely through the narrow passes, gained the heights, and in the morning appeared above the enemy's heads, a situation where he might fight with advantage, when he chose it, and might be compelled to it, he had a mind to still.

At present neither Lucullus nor Mithridates inclined risk a battle : but of the king's soldiers happening to pursue a deer, a party of Romans went out to intercept them. This brought on a sharp skirmish, numbers continually coming up on each side. At length the king's troops had the advantage.

The Romans, beholding from the the flight of their fellow-soldiers, were greatly disturbed, and ran to Lucullus, to him to lead them out ; and give the signal for battle. But he, willing to show them of how much importance, in all dangerous conflicts, the presence of an able general is, ordered them to stand still : and descending into the plain himself, seized the foremost of the fugitives, and commanded them to face about. They obeyed and the rest rallying with them, they easily put the enemy flight, and pursued them to their entrenchments. Lucullus, at his return, inflicted the fugitives the usual punishment. He made them strip to their vests, take off their girdles, and then dig a trench, twelve feet long ; rest of the troops all the while standing and looking

In the army of Mithridates there a Dardarian grandee named Olthacus. The Dardarians of those barbarous people who live the lake Mæotis. Olthacus a man for every warlike attempt that required strength and courage, and in counsel and contrivance inferior to Besides these plishments, he affable, easy, and agreeable in the of the world. always involved in dispute, jealousy least the other great men of country, who, like him, aimed chief authority in it : and to bring Mithridates into his interest, he undertook the daring enterprise of killing Lucullus. Mithridates commended his design, and publicly gave some affronts, to afford a pretence for resentment. Olthacus it, and rode off to Lucullus, who received pleasure. For reputation was well known the ; and, trial, Roman general presence of mind and

extraordinary, that he took him to his table his council-board

the Dardarian thought found his opportunity, ordered his have his ready without the camp now mid day, and the soldiers were sitting in the otherwise reposing themselves, when he to the general's pavilion, expecting that would pretend to hinder the admission of who with Lucullus, and who had business importance to communicate. And he had certainly entered, sleep, which has been the of many other generals, had saved Lucullus. Menedemus, of his chamberlains, then warning, and he Olthacus, "This was not a proper Lucullus, because after long watching and fatigue, he was taking rest." Olthacus did this denial, but said, "I enter, you will or not, I have great and necessary business lay before him." Menedemus, incensed at his insolence, answered, "Nothing more necessary than the preservation of Lucullus," and thrust him back with both hands. Olthacus, fearing his design discovered, withdrew privately from the camp, took horse, and returned to Mithridates without effecting anything. Thus the crisis in other matters, as well as in medicine, either saves or destroys.

After this, Sornathus sent out with ten cohorts a convoy. Mithridates detached against him of his officers named Menander. An engagement ensued, the barbarians were routed with great loss. Another time, Lucullus despatched Adrian with a considerable corps, to protect the party employed collecting provisions and supplying his camp. Mithridates let him pass unnoticed, sent Menemachus and Myron against them, with a strong body of cavalry and another in infantry. All combatants, except two, the Romans put the sword. Mithridates dissembled his loss, pretending it small, and entirely owing to the misconduct of commanding officers. when Adrian passed by his great pomp, with many with provisions and rich spoils in train, the king's spirits began droop, and the most distressing upon him. He determined, therefore, quit that post.

The nobility about the king began to shed off their baggage with all privacy they could, but would not suffer others do the. The finding themselves jostled and thrust back gateways, much provoked treatment, that they turned upon them, to plundering baggage, of them Dorylaus, of the generals, his for nothing but a purple robe which he had on. Hermæus, a priest, trodden under gate. Mithridates himself, without any attendant groom him, got of camp crowd. Of all royal stud there one horse; but Ptolemy the eunuch, seeing him carried with torrent, and happening to be on horseback, dismounted

and gave him . . . The . . . pressed . . . upon him, and indeed . . . in time enough . . . have taken him. He . . . in . . . almost in . . . hands; but their avarice saved him. . . . had been pursued through numberless . . . and . . . escaped, . . . the victorious Lucullus . . . robbed . . . of . . . The horse which the king rode . . . almost overtaken, when a . . . loaded . . . gold came between him either by accident or by the king's contrivance. . . . soldiers immediately began to rifle the load, and came to blows . . . contents; which gave Mithridates time Nor . . . only disadvantage Lucullus experienced from their avarice. Callistratus, . . . king's secretary, . . . taken, and . . . Roman general . . . ordered . . . to be brought before him; but those who . . . charge of it, perceiving he had 500 . . . in . . . girdle, despatched him for the money. Yet . . . such . . . as . . . he gave up the plunder of the enemy's camp.

After this . . . took Cabira, . . . many other places of strength, . . . which . . . much He likewise found . . . their prisons many Greeks, and several of the king's . . . relations, confined; and, as they had long thought themselves in the . . . desperate circumstances, the liberty . . . which they gained by the favour of Lucullus, appeared . . . them not so . . . a deliverance, . . . a resurrection and new life. One of . . . king's sisters, named Nyssa, very happily for her, . . . of the number. The other sisters and wives of Mithridates, who seemed placed more remote from danger, and . . . a distance . . . war, all perished miserably: he sent the eunuch Bacchides . . . Pharnacia, with orders to see them put to death.

Among the rest . . . two of his sisters, Roxana and Statira, who . . . about the age of forty, and . . . virgins; and two of his wives, both Ionians, Bernice of Chios, and Monime of The latter . . . much celebrated among the Greeks. Though the king had tried every expedient to bring her to listen . . . a lawless passion, and made her a present of 15,000 crowns at . . . time, she rejected all his solicitations . . . he agreed to marriage, sent her a diadem, and declared her queen. Before the last sad message, she . . . passed her time very unhappily, and looked with grief and indignation . . . that beauty, which instead of a husband had procured her . . . imperious master, and instead of the domestic comforts of marriage, . . . guard of barbarians. Banished far from Greece, she had lost the real blessings of life, and where she hoped for happiness, found nothing but a dream.

When Bacchides came and . . . those princesses they . . . die, . . . that they were . . . liberty to choose . . . death most easy and agreeable . . . them, Monime snatched . . . diadem . . . her head, and applied it to her neck, that it might do broke, and the princess said, "O cursed band! wouldst thou . . . least occasion?" Then spitting upon it, . . . threw it from her, and stretched out her Bacchides.

Bernice took poison; and, . . . mother, who was present, begged a share of it, she granted her request. They both drank of

it ; and its force operated sufficiently upon the weaker body : Bernice having a proper quantity, long a-dying. therefore strangled her. Roxana, of unmarried sisters, after having vented the bitter imprecations and reproaches against Mithridates, poison. *Statira, however, unkind ungenerous word. She rather commended her brother, when he must have his anxieties about his own life, for forgetting them, but providing that they might die free and undishonoured.* These were very disagreeable to native goodness humanity of Lucullus.

continued his pursuit of as as Talaure ; where having learned that he was four days before into Armenia Tigranes, he turned back again. He subdued, however, Chaldeans Tibarenians, and reduced the less Armenia, towns and castles. Then he Appius Tigranes, to demand Mithridates ; and in the meantime returned to Amisus, which his troops were besieging. The length of the siege owing Callimachus who commanded in the town, and was an able engineer, skilled in every of attack and defence. By this he gave the Romans much trouble, for which he suffered afterwards. Lucullus availed himself of a stratagem against which he had not guarded. He made a sudden assault at the time when Callimachus used draw off men for refreshment. Thus he made himself of some part of the wall ; upon which, Callimachus either envying the Romans the plunder of the place, or with a view facilitate his own escape, fire to the town, and quitted it. For no one paid any attention to those who fled by sea. The flames spread with great rapidity around the walls, and the soldiers prepared themselves to pillage the houses. Lucullus, commiseration of a fine city thus sinking into ruin, endeavoured to assist it from without, and ordered his troops to extinguish the fire. But they paid regard him : they went on collecting the spoils and clashing their arms, till he was forced to give up the plunder to them, in hopes of saving the city from the flames. It happened, however, quite otherwise. rummaging every corner, with torches in their hands, they set fire to many of the houses themselves. that when Lucullus entered the morning, he said his friends, with in his eyes, " I have often admired the good fortune of Sylla, but never much I do this day. He desired Athens, and succeeded. I to him on this occasion ; but instead of that the gods have classed with Nummius."

Nevertheless he endeavoured to the place, as its unhappy circumstances would permit. A shower, which providentially fell about time it was taken, extinguished the fire, and saved many of the buildings ; and, during his stay, he most of those that destroyed. of the inhabitants as received with pleasure, and to them a draught

who *was* going to *the* *city*. At *the* *same* time, *he* *gave* a territory of *one* furlong.

The city was a colony of Athenians, planted here *at* a time when their power was at the height ; *they* were masters of the sea. Hence it was, that *those* who fled from *the* tyranny of Aristion, retired *to* Amisus, *and* were *granted* to *the* privilege of citizens ; fortunately enough gaining abroad what they lost *at* home. The remainder of them Lucullus now clothed in *a* honourable manner, gave each *one* drachmas, and sent them back into their *own* country. Tyrannio, *a* grammarian, *one* of the number. Murena begged him of Lucullus, and afterwards enfranchised him ; in which *he* acted ungenerously by his superior officers present. Lucullus would *have* been willing, that *a* *man* so honoured for *his* learning, should be first considered *as* a slave, and then *made* free. The real liberty *is* *not* born to, must be taken away, before he could have this seeming freedom. But this *was* the only instance in which Murena acted with *more* generosity than became *him* of *his* rank.

Lucullus then turned towards the cities of Asia, that he might bestow the time which was not employed in *war*, on the promotion of law and justice. These had long lost their influence in that province, which *was* overwhelmed with unspeakable misfortunes. It *was* desolated and enslaved by the farmers of the *tax* and by *others*. The poor inhabitants were forced to sell the most beautiful of their sons and daughters, the ornaments and offerings in their temples, their paintings, and the statues of their gods. The last *thing* *to* serve their creditors as slaves. Their sufferings, prior to this, *were* *very* cruel and insupportable : prisons, racks, tortures, exposures *to* the burning sun in summer, and in winter to the extremity of cold, amidst ice or mire ; insomuch that servitude *was* a happy deliverance and *a* scene of peace. Lucullus finding the cities *in* such dreadful distress, soon rescued the oppressed *from* their burdens.

In the first place he ordered the creditors not to take above one *hundred* for *a* month's interest,¹ in the next place he abolished *the* interest *which* exceeded the principal ; the third and *most* important regulation was, that the creditor should *not* take above *a* fourth part of the debtor's income. And if any one took interest upon *his* *own* *money* *he* *lost* all. By these means, in less than four years, *the* debts *were* paid, and the estates restored *to* the proprietors. The public fine which Sylla had *imposed* upon Asia, *was* 20,000 talents. It had *been* paid twice ; and yet *the* merciless collectors, by *their* usury, *had* brought it to 120,000 talents.

Some men, pretending they *had* been unjustly treated, *raised* *a* clamour *against* Lucullus, and hired a number of popular *speakers* to speak against him. They had, indeed, *a* considerable interest, because many persons *shared* *a* share *in* the adminis-

¹ This was the legal interest among the Romans. Whence we may learn the

comparative scarcity of money in those times.

tration, were their debtors. Lucullus, on the other hand, was beloved only by the nations which had experienced his good offices; the hearts of the other provinces were his, and they longed for a governor who made such numbers happy.

Appius Clodius, who sent ambassador to Tigranes by Lucullus, and who his wife's brother, first fell into the hands of guides that subjects to Mithridates. These men made him unnecessary circuit of many days' journey in the upper countries; but last enfranchised servant his, a Syrian by nation, discovered to him the imposition, and showed him the right road. He then bade adieu his barbarian guides, and in a few days passed the Euphrates, and reached Antioch of Daphne.¹

There he had orders to wait for Tigranes who then employed in reducing some cities of Phœnicia; and found means to bring Roman interest many princes who submitted to Armenians of pure necessity. Among these Zartlenus, king of Gordyene. A number of the cities too, which Tigranes had conquered, privately sent deputies to Clodius: and he promised them all the succour Lucullus could give him, but desired they would make no immediate resistance. The Armenian government was, indeed, an insupportable burden to the Greeks; particularly the king's pride, through long course of prosperity, was become so enormous that he thought whatever is great and admirable in the eyes of the world was not only in his power, but even made for him. For though his prospects at first were small and contemptible, he had subdued many nations, and humbled the Parthian power than any prince before him. He had colonised Mesopotamia with Greeks, whom he draughted in great numbers out of Cilicia and Cappadocia. He had drawn the nomadic Arabians from their wandering way of life, and placed them to Armenia, he might avail himself of their mercantile abilities. He had kings at his court in the capacity of servants, four in particular male-bearers or footmen, who, whenever he rode horseback, before him in short jerkins; and, when he sat to give audience, stood by with their hands clasped together, which circumstance seems a mark of the lowest slavery, a token that they had only resigned their liberty, but that they were prepared rather to suffer than to act.

Appius, in the least disconcerted at all this pomp, plainly forth his commission, at his first audience, "that he to demand Mithridates, whom Lucullus claimed for his triumph; otherwise he declare against Tigranes." Whatever prince made receive the message with easy count-

¹ Among several cities of that name this was the principal. It was called, however, by way of distinction, the Antioch of Daphne. Daphne was a beautiful village, about forty furlongs from it, consecrated to the nymph of that name, and adorned with groves of

large laurel; in the of which stood the temple of Apollo Diana, grove and temple were situated.

= Probably so called in Greek.

now at [] with cold hopes of success began [] war, or rather threw [] headlong [] those [] could [] longer.

Amidst these transactions, Machares, [] son of [], who [] of the Bosphorus, sent Lucullus [] of gold of 1,000 crowns' value, and begged to be numbered among the [] of Rome. Lucullus, now concluding [] finished, left Sornatius with a corps of 6,000 [] the affairs of [] province; and with 12,000 foot [] than 3,000 horse, marched to meet another []. It seemed amazing temerity [] with a handful of men against [] many warlike nations, [] many myriads of cavalry, [] such a [] country, intersected with deep rivers, and barricaded with mountains for [] covered with snow. Of course [] soldiers, who were [] otherwise under the best discipline, [] followed with great reluctance, and were ready to mutiny. On the other hand, *the popular orators clamoured against him [] Rome*, representing that he levied [] after war; [] that the public utility required it, but that he might always keep the command, and continue in arms, and that he might accumulate riches [] the risk of the commonwealth. These at last succeeded in their design, which [] recall Lucullus.

At pre[] he reached [] Euphrates by long marches. He found it swollen and overflowing by reason of the late rains, and [] apprehensive he should find much [] and difficulty in collecting boats and making a bridge of them. But in the evening the flood began [] subside, and lessened [] such a [] the night, that next morning the river appeared much within the channel. The people of the country seeing [] islands in its bed, which had seldom been visible, and the stream breaking gently about them, considered Lucullus [] something more than mortal. For they [] the great river put [] a mild and obliging air to him, and [] him a quick and easy passage.

[] availed himself of the opportunity, and passed [] with his army. An auspicious omen appeared immediately after. A number of heifers, sacred to [] Persian Diana, the goddess whom the inhabitants of those parts particularly worship, pastured [] the other side. *These heifers are used only in the way of sacrifice: [] other times they range at large, marked with the figure of a torch, [] a token of their designation: and [] difficult [] take [] when they [] wanted. [] the army had [] crossed [] river, than one of them went and stood by a rock, which is [] sacred [] goddess, and hanging down her head [] manner of [] that [] bound, [] Lucullus [] a victim. He sacrificed also a bull to the Euphrates, [] account []*

[] stayed there that whole day to [] army. [] next day he marched through Sophene, without doing the [] injury to those who submitted and received his troops in a proper manner. Nay, when his men wanted to stop and take a [] was sup-

posed to ■ full of treasure, he pointed to ■ Taurus ■ appeared at a distance, and said, "Yonder is ■ fort you are ■ take, as for these things, they will of course belong to ■ conqueror" Then pushing his march, he crossed ■ Tigris ■ entered Armenia

As Tigranes ordered ■ first man who brought him an ■ of the enemy's arrival, to loss his head for his reward, no one afterwards ■ mention it ■ remained in ignorance, though the hostile fire already touched him, and with pleasure heard his flatterers say, "Lucullus would ■ a great general, if he waited for Tigranes ■ Ephesus, and did not quit Asia at ■ sight of his ■ armies" Thus it is not every ■ that ■ bear much wine, ■ ■ ordinary mind bear great prosperity ■ staggering The first of his friends who ventured ■ tell him the truth, ■ ■, and he ■ but ■ rewarded for ■ liberty ■ had taken ■ ■ against Lucullus with 3,000 horse ■ a ■ respectable body of foot, with orders ■ ■ ■ general alive, but ■ tread the rest under his feet

Part of the Roman forces were pitching their tents, and the ■ were upon the march, when their scouts brought intelligence that the barbarians were at hand He had therefore his apprehensions, that if they attacked him before his troops were all assembled ■ d formed, they might ■ put in disorder The measure he took ■ ■ stay and intrench himself meantime he sent his lieutenant Sextilius with 1,600 horse, and not many more infantry, including both the light and the heavy armed, with orders when he approached the enemy ■ stop and ■ them, till he should be informed that the entrenchments were finished

Sextilius was willing to obey his orders, but Mithrobarzanes came upon him ■ boldly, that he ■ forced ■ fight Mithrobarzanes, behaved with great bravery, but ■ ■ the ■ Then his troops took to flight, and ■ ■ of ■ cut in pieces

After this, Tigranes ■ Tigranocerta, ■ great city which ■ had built, and retired ■ Mount Taurus, where he intended ■ collect all ■ forces But Lucullus not giving him much ■ preparation, ■ Murena to harass and cut off ■ parties ■ one side, ■ fast ■ they came up, on the other side, Sextilius advanced against a large corps of Arabians, which ■ going to join ■ king, Sextilius ■ upon the Arabians ■ they ■ encamping, and ■ the greatest part of ■ M ■ following the steps of Tigranes, took his opportunity ■ attack him, ■ he ■ leading a great army along a rugged and narrow defile The king himself fled, abandoning ■ ■ baggage Many of ■ Armenians were put to the sword and greater numbers made prisoners

Lucullus, after this success, marched against Tigranocerta, and ■ it with his army There were in that city many Greeks ■ had been transplanted out of Cilicia, ■ many barbarians whose fortunes had been no better than that of the Greeks,

Adiabeniāns, Assyrians, Gordyeniāns, and Cappadociāns, whose cities Tigranes had demolished, ■ then removed the inhabitants, ■ compelled ■ settle in that ■ had built. The place ■ full of ■ rich ornaments; every private person ■ well ■ grandee, ■ make their court to ■ king, striving which should contribute most to ■ embellishment. For this, ■ Lucullus carried on the siege with great vigour, in the opinion that Tigranes would, contrary ■ his better judgment, be provoked ■ give him battle. And he was ■ mistaken. Mithridates, by messengers and letters, dissuaded the king much from hazarding ■ battle, and advised him to cut off the Roman convoys ■ his cavalry. Taxiles too, who came on the part ■ Mithridates to co-operate with Tigranes, entreated him to *avoid meeting the Roman arms which he assured him were invincible.*

At first the king heard ■ with patience. ■ when the Armenians and Gordyeniāns arrived with all their forces; when the kings of the Medes and Adiabeniāns ■ brought ■ their armies; when numbers of Arabians came from the ■ of the Babylonian ■ (the Persian Gulf), Albanians from the Caspian, and Iberians from the neighbourhood of the Albanians; besides ■ considerable body gained by presents and persuasion, from those nations about the Araxes that live without regal government; ■ nothing ■ expressed at the king's table or council-board, but sanguine hopes and barbarian menaces. Taxiles was in danger of his life for attempting to oppose the resolution to give battle, and Mithridates himself was accused of envying the glorious ■ that would attend ■ son-in-law.

Tigranes, therefore, would ■ wait for him, lest he should share with him the honour of the victory; but advanced immediately with all his friend's forces and is said to have expressed ■ his ■ uneasiness, "That he should have ■ do only with Lucullus, and not try his strength at once with ■ the generals of Rome." Indeed, these boasts of the king do ■ appear entirely frantic and destitute of reason, while he ■ surveying so many nations and princes under his standard, such astonishing numbers of heavy armed infantry, and ■ many myriads of cavalry. He had 26,000 arch ■ and slingers, and 55,000 horse, ■ which 17,000 were clad in steel, according to the ■ Lucullus ■ to the senate. ■ infantry, divided into companies and battalions, ■ sisted of 150,000 men; and there ■ 35,000 pioneers and other labourers to make good the roads, to prepare bridges, ■ cleanse ■ of rivers, ■ provide wood, and ■ all the occasions of the army. These ■ drawn up behind, ■ give it ■ greater appearance of strength and numbers.

■ he ■ passed mount Taurus, and spread his troops upon ■ plain, he could see the Roman army besieging Tigranocerta. The mixed multitude of barbarians in the city likewise saw him, and in ■ menacing manner pointed ■ their king's armies from the

Lucullus, before ■ battle, ■ ■ council of ■ Some advised

him quit the siege, and meet Tigranes with all his forces ; were of opinion, should continue the siege, and so y behind him. He told them that neither, separately, good counsel, but both together did. He there fore divided forces, and left Murena before the place with 6,000 men, while he, with the of his infantry, consisting of 24 cohorts, contained not than 10,000 combatants, with all his cavalry, and 1,000 slingers and archers, against Tigranes.

encamped a large plain with a river before him ; army iring more than a handful, afforded much of mirth the flatterers of the king. Some ridiculed diminutive appearance ; others, by way of jest, cast lots for spoil. And there one of the generals and princes, who did come and desire employed alone upon this service, while Tigranes needed only to sit and look. The king, too, thinking he show himself facetious on the occasion, made use of celebrated expression, "That if they ambassadors, they were many of them ; if as soldiers, few." Thus they passed the first day in railery.

Next morning at break of day Lucullus drew out his army. The camp of the barbarians was on the east side of the river. But the river, where it is most fordable, makes a bend to the. As Lucullus marched hastily down to that quarter, Tigranes thought he was retreating. Upon this, he called to Taxiles, and said with a scornful smile, "Seest thou not these invincible Roman legions taking flight?" Taxiles answered, "I wish from my lord, that your good genius may work a miracle in your favour ; but these legions do not use their best accoutrements in a mere march. They do not wear their polished shields, take their bright helmets of their cases, you see they have now done. this splendid appearance indicates their intention fight, and advance against their enemies as fast as possible."

While Taxiles was yet speaking, they the eagle of the fore- legion make a motion to the right by order of Lucullus, and the cohorts proceed in good order to pass the river.

Then Tigranes with much difficulty awaked from intoxication, and exclaimed two three times, "Are these coming against us?" After this, drew out his forces in hasty and disorderly manner ; taking himself the command of main body, and giving the wing king of the Adiabeniensians, and the right to the king of the Medes. Before this right wing placed of the cavalry that armed in steel.

As Lucullus going to pass the river, of officer, admonished him beware of that day, which been inauspicious, or (as they called) *one* to the Romans. For on that day Cæpio's army defeated by the Cimbri. Lucullus returned that memorable answer, "I will make this day auspicious for Rome." was sixth of October.

Having thus spoken, and exhorted to them

another. Strabo,¹ another philosopher, in ■■■■■ Commentaries, informs us, that the ■■■■■ were ashamed, and ridiculed ■■■■■ other, for having employed weapons against such vile slaves. ■■■■■ Livy ■■■■■ us, ■■■■■ Romans, ■■■■■ such inferior numbers, ■■■■■ engaged such ■■■■■ multitude ■■■■■ this. The victors ■■■■■ not, indeed, make ■■■■■ twentieth part of the vanquished. The ■■■■■ able ■■■■■ experienced commanders among the Romans paid the highest compliments ■■■■■ generalship of Lucullus, principally, because he had ■■■■■ of the greatest and ■■■■■ powerful kings in the world by methods entirely different: the ■■■■■ by ■■■■■ expeditious and ■■■■■ other by ■■■■■ slow process. He ruined Mithridates, when in the height ■■■■■ his power, by protracting the war, and Tigranes by the celerity of his movements. ■■■■■ deed, among all the generals ■■■■■ world, there have been very few instances of any ■■■■■ availing himself of delay for execution, or of expedition for security.

Hence it was, that Mithridates made **■** haste to **■** action, **■** join Tigranes ; imagining that Lucullus would proceed with his usual caution and slowness. But as **■** he met **■** few Armenians **■** the road, with the greatest marks of consternation upon them, he formed some conjecture of what had happened ; and when many **■** up naked and wounded, he **■** too well assured of the loss, and inquired for Tigranes. Though he found him in the most destitute and deplorable condition, he did **■** offer him the least insult. Instead of that, he dismounted, and bewailed with him their common misfortunes ; gave him his own royal equipage, and beld up **■** him a prospect of better success. They began **■** levy other forces.

In Tigranocerta the Greeks **mutinied** against the barbarians, and wanted to deliver up the city to Lucullus. Accordingly he gave the assault, and took it. After he had secured the royal treasures, he gave up the plunder of the town to his soldiers, and they found there, besides other rich booty, 8,000 talents in coined money. Lucullus added 800 drachmas to each man's share.

Being informed that there were found in the [redacted] a number of such artists [redacted] requisite in theatrical exhibitions, whom Tigranes had collected from [redacted] parts, for opening the theatre he had built, [redacted] made [redacted] of them in the games and other public diversions in honour of his victory.

back the Greeks to their own countries, and furnished them with necessaries for that purpose. likewise permitted barbarians who had been compelled settle there, return their respective abodes. Thus it happened that, by dispersion people of one city, many cities recovered their former inhabitants. For which reason Lucullus revered by them patron and founder. *He succeeded also in his other undertakings agreeably his merit; being more desirous of the praise of justice and humanity, than of that which arises from military movements.* For those army claims no small part.

¹ *Barbo*, the grammarian and historian, was also a philosopher of the stoic form.

fortune a greater; whereas the other are proofs of a gentle disposition subdued mind, by them Lucullus brought barbarians submit without sword. The kings of the over to him, and put possessions in his power; of Sophane their example; Gordyenians well inclined to him, that they willing to quit their habitations and follow him with their wives and children. The cause this:

Zarbienus, king of Gordyene, unable to support the tyranny of Tigranes, applied privately through Appius Lucullus, and admitted ally. This application being discovered, he passed to death with his wife and children, before Armenia. Lucullus, however, forgot it, but passed through Gordyene, Zarbienus should have a magnificent funeral, and adorned the pile gold stuffs royal vestments found among spoils of Tigranes. The general himself set fire to it, and, together the friends and relations of the deceased, offered the accustomed libations, declaring him his friend, and ally people. He caused a monument to be erected to his memory at a considerable expense: for there was found in the treasury of that prince a great quantity of gold and silver; there found also in his storehouses three millions of medimni of wheat. This a sufficient provision for his soldiers; and Lucullus much for making the war maintain itself, and carrying it without taking one drachma out of the public treasury.

About this time there came an embassy from the king of Parthia solicit his friendship and alliance. Lucullus received the proposal with pleasure, and ambassadors in his turn; who, when they that prince's court, discovered that he was unresolved what to act, and that he privately treating with Tigranes for Mesopotamia, a reward for the with which he should furnish him. As soon as Lucullus sensible of this, he determined let Tigranes and Mithridates alone, adversaries already tired out, and try his strength with Parthian, by entering territories. He thought it would be glorious, if in expedition, during tide of good fortune, wrestler he would throw three princes successively, and the dominions the powerful kings under the sun, perpetually victorious.

For this reason orders to Sornathus his other in Pontus bring their forces to him, as he intended begin march for Parthia from Gordyene. These officers already their soldiers refractory and obstinate, but they them absolutely mutinous, and not to wrought upon by method of persuasion of force. On the contrary, they loudly declared they would even stay there, but would leave Pontus itself unguarded. An account of this behaviour was brought Lucullus, it corrupted the troops he had him: they very ready to receive these impressions, loaded as they

with wealth, enervated with luxury, and panting after repose. Upon hearing, therefore, of the cold in which others had expressed themselves, they said they acted like men, and an example worthy of imitation : "And surely," continued they, "we entitle us to a discharge, that we may return to our country, and enjoy ourselves in security and quiet."

These speeches, and worse than these, coming to the ears of Lucullus, he omitted all thoughts of his Parthian expedition, and marched once more against Tigranes. It was the height of summer, yet when he had gained the summit of Taurus, he was with regret the only green ; he went backward in those parts, by the cold that prevails there.¹ He descended, however, into the plain, and beat the Armenians who ventured to face him in two or three skirmishes. Then he plundered the villages at pleasure, and, by taking the convoys designed for Tigranes, brought that upon the enemy, which he dreaded himself.

He omitted no measure which might bring them to a decisive battle : he drew a line of circumvallation about their camp ; he laid waste their country before their eyes ; but they had been too often defeated, to think of risking an engagement. He therefore marched against Artaxata, the capital of Tigranes, where he had left his wives and children ; concluding he would not suffer it to be taken, without attempting its relief.

It is said that Hannibal, the Carthaginian, after Antiochus was subdued by the Romans, addressed himself to Artaxas, king of Armenia. While he was at that prince's court, besides instructing him in other important matters, he pointed out to him a place which, though it then lay neglected, afforded the happiest situation imaginable for a city. He gave him the plan of one, and exhorted him to put it in execution. The king, charmed with the motion, desired him to take the direction of the work ; and in a short time there was a large and beautiful city, which bore that prince's name, and was declared the metropolis of Armenia.

When Lucullus advanced to lay siege to this place, the patience of Tigranes failed him. He marched in quest of the Romans, and the fourth day encamped against them, being separated from them only by the river Arsianias, which they necessarily crossed in their march to Artaxata. Lucullus having sacrificed to the gods, full persuasion that the victory was his own, passed in order of battle twelve cohorts in front. The rest were placed in rear, to prevent their being surrounded by the enemy. For their rear was watched by a large select body of cavalry, covered by some flying squadrons of archers and Iberian spearmen, in whose courage and skill Tigranes, of all his foreign troops, placed the highest confidence. Their behaviour, however, distinguished them. They exchanged a few blows with the Roman

¹ This particular is confirmed by modern travellers. They tell us the snow lies there till August.

horse, did not wait the charge of infantry. They dispersed and fled, and the Roman cavalry pursued them in the different places they had taken.

Tigranes now seeing his advantage, advanced with his own cavalry. Lucullus was a little intimidated at their numbers, and the splendour of their appearance. He therefore called his cavalry off from the pursuit; and in the meantime the foremost advanced against the nobility, who, with the flower of the army, were about the king's person. But they fled at the sight of him without striking a blow. Of the three kings that were then in the action, the flight of Artabazanes, who had been the disgraceful, stand the very shouts of the Romans. The pursuit continued the whole night, until wearied with the carnage, and satisfied with the prisoners, and the booty they made, the Romans drew off. Livy tells us, that in the former battle there were great numbers killed and taken prisoners: but in this, persons of higher quality.

Lucullus, elevated with his success, resolved to penetrate the upper country, and finish the destruction of this barbarian prince. It was now the autumnal equinox, and he met with storms he did not expect. The snow fell almost constantly; and when the sky was clear, the frost was so intense, that by reason of the cold the horses could hardly drink of the rivers; nor could they pass them but with the greatest difficulty, because the ice broke, and cut the sinews of their legs. Besides, the greater part of their march was through close and woody roads, where the troops were daily wet with the snow that lodged upon the trees, and they had only damp places wherein to pass the night.

They had not, therefore, followed Lucullus many days before they began to be refractory. At first they had recourse to treaties, and their tribunes to intercede for them. Afterwards they met in a tumultuous manner, and their murmurs were heard all over the camp by night; and this, perhaps, is a token of a mutiny. Lucullus tried what every measure could do; but exhorted them only to compose themselves a little longer, until they had destroyed the Armenian Carthage, built by Hannibal, his greatest enemy to the Roman Empire. But, finding his eloquence ineffectual, he marched back, and passed the ridge of mount Taurus another way. He descended down into Mygdonia, an open and fertile country, where stands a great and populous city, which the barbarians called Nisibis, and the Greeks Antioch of Mygdonia.¹ Gouras, brother to Tigranes, was the title of governor, but account of his dignity; but the commander in fact was Callimachus, who, by his great abilities as an engineer, had given Lucullus much trouble at Amisus.

Lucullus, having invested the place, availed himself of the darkness that used to be a siege, and pressed the place with so much vigour

¹ It was called Antioch, because in its fallowing it resembled the Antioch of Taurus.

that he carried it sword in hand. Gouras surrendered himself, and he treated him with great humanity. he would not, however, listen to Callimachus, though he offered to discover to him a vast quantity of hidden treasure : but put him in fetters, in order that he might suffer capital punishment for setting him free the city of Amisus, and by thus depriving him of the honour of showing his clemency to the Greeks.

Hitherto, he might say, fortune had followed Lucullus, and fought for him. But from this time the gales of her favour fell : he could do nothing but with infinite difficulty, and struck every rock in his way. he behaved, indeed, with the same steady and persevering spirit of a good general, but his actions had no longer their wonted glory and favourable acceptance with the world. Nay, tossed he was on the sea of fruitless contention, he was in danger of losing the glory he had already acquired. For great part of his misfortunes he might blame himself, because, in the first place, he would never study to oblige the soldiers, but looked upon every compliance with their inclinations as the source of his disgrace and the destruction of his authority. What he did of greater consequence, he could not behave in an easy affable manner to those who were upon a footing with him in point of rank and birth, but treated them with haughtiness, and considered himself as greatly their superior. These blemishes Lucullus amidst many perfections. *He was tall, well made, graceful, eloquent, and had abilities for the administration as well as for the field.*

Sallust tells us, the soldiers were ill-affected to him from the beginning of the war, because he made them keep the field two winters successively, the one before Cynium and the other before Amisus. The length of the winters were very disagreeable to them : they either passed them in fighting against some enemy ; or, if they happened to be among friends, they were obliged to live in tents. For Lucullus never suffered his troops to enter any Grecian city, nor any other in alliance with Rome.

While the soldiers of themselves thus ill-disposed, they were made more so by the demagogues at home, who, through envy to Lucullus, accused him of protracting the war from a love of command and of the riches he procured him. He almost entirely direction (they said) of Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, and all the provinces as far as the Phasis : and now he was pillaging the royal palaces of Tigranes, as if he had been come to strip, not to subdue kings. Lucius Quintius, one of the tribunes, is said to have expressed himself ; he who was principally concerned in procuring a decree that Lucullus should have a successor in him, that his troops should have their discharge.

To these misfortunes was added another, which absolutely ruined the affairs of Lucullus. Clodius, a man of the same insolence and effrontery, brother to his wife, who was so abandoned a woman, that he was believed she had a criminal com-

heneath his dignity. He applied ■ the private ■ one by one, going round to their tents with a supplicating aspect and with tears in his eyes ; nay, he condescended ■ take some of them by the hand. But they rejected ■ his advances, and throwing down their empty p■■■ before him, bade him go and fight the enemy himself, since he was the only person that knew how ■ make his advantage of it.

However, ■ the other soldiers interposed, the Fimbrians were prevailed ■■ stay all the summer, on condition that ■ ■ enemy faced them in the field during that time they should be ■ liberty to retire. Lucullus was obliged either to accept this proposal ■ ■ abandon the country, or ■ leave it an easy prey to the barbarians. He kept the troops together, therefore, without pretending ■ exercise any act of power upon them, or to lead them out to battle ; thinking it all he could expect, if they would but remain upon the spot. At the ■■■ time he looked on, while Tigranes was ravaging Cappadocia, and Mithridates ■■ growing strong and insolent again ; though he had acquainted the senate by letter that he was absolutely conquered, and deputies were come to settle the affairs of Pontus, as ■ province entirely reduced. These deputies, on their arrival, found that he was not even master of himself, but exposed to every instance of insult and contempt from his own soldiers. Nay, they treated their general with such wanton mockery, as, when the ■■■■ was passed, to arm, and challenge the enemy who ■■■ ■■ retired into quarters. They shouted as in the charge, made passes in the air, and then left the camp, calling Lucullus to witness that they had stayed the time they promised him.

Pompey wrote to the other legions to attend him. For, through his interest with the people, and the flattering insinuations of the orators, he was already appointed general against Mithridates and Tigranes. To the senate, indeed, and all the best of the Romans, Lucullus appeared to have very hard treatment, since a person ■■ sent to succeed him, not ■ much in the war ■ in his triumph ; and he ■■ robbed rather of the prize of honour than of the command. Those that were upon the spot found the matter still ■■■■ invidious. Lucullus had no longer the power either of rewarding ■ punishing. Pompey suffered no man to wait upon him about any business whatever, or to pay any regard to the regulations he had made in concurrence with the ten commissioners. He forbade it by express and public orders ; and his influence ■■ great, ■ ■■■ of his coming with ■ ■■ respectable army.

Yet their friends thought it proper that they should come to ■ interview ; and accordingly they ■■ so in a village of Galatia. They addressed each other with much politeness, and with mutual compliments on their great success. Lucullus ■■ the older man, but Pompey had superior dignity, for he had commanded in more wars, and had been honoured with two triumphs. Each had the *farces* carried before him, adorned with a laurel on account of their

respective victories ; but as Pompey had travelled ■ long ■ through dry and parched countries, the laurels about his *fascēs* ■ withered. The lictors that preceded Lucullus observing ■ freely gave them ■ sufficient quantity of their fresh and ■ ones : which Pompey's friends considered ■ an auspicious circumstance. And, in fact, ■ great actions of Lucullus did ■ a lustre ■ expedition of Pompey.

This interview, however, ■ no good effect ; they parted with great ■ in their hearts than they entertained ■ their meeting. Pompey annulled the acts of Lucullus ; and taking the ■ of troops from him, left him only 1,600 ■ for ■ triumph, and even ■ followed him with reluctance. So ill qualified, ■ ■ unfortunate, ■ *Lucullus*, with respect to the first and greatest ■ *gloriā* in a general gaining the hearts of his soldiers. Had this been added to his many other great and admirable talents, ■ courage, his vigilance, his prudence and justice, the Roman empire would ■ have been terminated, ■ the side of Asia, by the Euphrates, but by the Hyrcanian ■ and the extremities of the earth. For Tigranes had already conquered the other nations ; and the power of the Parthians was neither so great nor ■ united in itself, during this expedition of Lucullus, as it ■ afterwards in the time of Crassus. On the contrary, they ■ weakened by intestine wars and by hostilities with their neighbours, insomuch that they ■ able to repel the insults of the Armenians. In ■ opinion, indeed, the advantages which his country reaped from Lucullus ■ not equivalent to the calamities which he occasioned others ■ bring upon it. The trophies of Armenia, just in the neighbourhood of Parthia, the palms of Tigranocerta and Nisibis with all their vast wealth carried in triumph to Rome, and the captive diadem of Tigranes adorning the show, drew Crassus into Asia ; ■ its barbarous inhabitants had been a ■ and ■ prey.—However, when he met the Parthian arrows, he ■ found that the success of Lucullus was owing to his own courage and capacity, and not to the folly and effeminacy of the enemy.

Upon his ■ Rome, Lucullus found his brother Marcus impeached by Memmius, for the practices he had given into during his quaestorship, by order of Sylla.—And when Marcus was acquitted, Memmius turned against Lucullus himself ; alleging ■ he ■ converted ■ great deal of the booty ■ his ■ private ■ and ■ wilfully protracted ■ war. By these means he ■ deavoured ■ exasperate the people against him, and to prevail ■ them to refuse him ■ triumph. Lucullus ■ in great danger of losing it ; but at this crisis, ■ first and greatest men in Rome mixed with ■ tribes, and after much canvassing and the ■ engaging application, with great difficulty procured him ■

Its glory ■ consist, like that of others, ■ the length of ■ procession, or ■ astonishing pomp and quantity of spoils, but in exhibiting the enemy's arms, ■ ensigus and other warlike equipage of ■ kings. With ■ he had adorned the Circus

Flaminius, they made a very agreeable and respectable show. In the procession a of heavy armed cavalry, and chariots armed with scythes. These followed by sixty grandees, either friends or lieutenants of the king. After them were drawn 110 galleys with brazen beaks. The next objects of Mithridates in massy gold, full six feet high, and his shield with precious stones. Then up 20 exhibitions of silver vessels, and 32 more of gold cups, arms, and gold coin. All these things borne by men. These followed by eight mules which carried beds of gold, and 56 loaded with silver bullion. After these 107 other mules, bearing silver coin amount of nearly 2,700,000 drachmas. The procession closed with the registers of the money with which he had furnished Pompey the with the pirates, what he had remitted the questors for the public treasury, and the distribution they had made among the soldiers at the rate of 950 drachmas each man. The triumph concluded with a magnificent entertainment provided for the whole city and the adjacent villages.

He now divorced Clodia for her infamous intrigues, and married Servilia the sister of Cato, but this second match was not more fortunate than the first. Servilia wanted no stain which Clodia had, except that of a commerce with her brothers. In other respects she was equally profligate and abominable. He forced himself, however, to endure her a long time out of reverence to Cato, but last repudiated her too.

The senate had conceived great hopes of Lucullus, that he would prove a counterpoise to the tyranny of Pompey, and a protector of the whole patrician order; the rather because he had acquired so much honour and authority by his great actions. He gave up the cause, however, and quitted his pretensions to the administration; whether it that he saw the constitution in too sickly and declining a condition to be corrected; or whether, others will have it, that being satiated with public honours, and having gone through many labours and conflicts which had the most fortunate issue, he chose to retire to a life of and indulgence. And they commend this change in his conduct, as much better than the distempered of Marius; who, after his victories over the Cimbri and all his glorious achievements, content with the admiration of his countrymen, but from an insatiable thirst of power, contended, in the decline of life, with the ambition of young men, falling into dreadful crimes, and into sufferings still more dreadful. "*How much happier,*" said they, "*would it have been for Cicero if he had retired after the affair of Catiline; and for Scipio, if he had furl'd his sails, when he had add'd Numantia to Carthage. For there is a period when should bid political contests; these, as well as those of wrestlers, being absurd, the strength and vigour of life is gone.*"

On the other hand, Crassus Pompey ridiculed Lucullus for into a life of pleasure and expense; thinking full as un- of life to plunge into luxury, direct the

or lead armies ——— the field. Indeed ——— Lucullus does look ——— the ancient comedy¹ where first ——— see great actions, both political ——— military, and afterwards feasts, debauches (I had almost said masquerades), ——— by torch-light, ——— every kind of frivolous amusement. For among frivolous amusements I cannot but reckon his sumptuous villas, walks, and baths, and ——— more so, the painting, statues, and other works of art, which he collected at ——— immense expense; idly squandering away upon them the vast fortune which ——— had amassed in the wars.² Insomuch, that even now, when luxury ——— made ——— much greater advances, the gardens of Lucullus are numbered with those of kings, and the most magnificent even ——— those. When Tubero the stoic, beheld his works on ——— coast ——— Naples, the hills he had excavated for vaults ——— cellars, the reservoirs he had formed about ——— houses, ——— receive the ——— for the feeding of his fish, and his edifices in the sea itself; the philosopher called him Xerxes in a gown.³ Besides these, he had the ——— superb pleasure-houses in the country ——— Tusculum, adorned with grand galleries and open saloons, as well for the prospect as for walks. Pompey, on a visit there, blamed Lucullus for having made the villa commodious only for the ———, and absolutely uninhabitable in the winter. Lucullus answered with a smile, "What, then, do you think I have not so much sense as the cranes and storks which change their habitations with the seasons?"

A prætor, who wanted to exhibit magnificent games applied to Lucullus for some purple robes for the chorus in his tragedy; and he told him, he would inquire whether he could furnish him ——— not. Next day he asked how many he wanted. The prætor answered, "A hundred would be sufficient:" Upon which Lucullus said, "He might have twice that number if he pleased." The poet Horace makes this remark ——— the occasion,

Poor is the house, where plenty has not stores
That meets the master's eye———

——— daily repasts were like those of a ——— suddenly grown rich; pompous not only in the beds, which were covered with purple carpets, the side-boards of plate ——— with precious ———, and all the entertainment which ——— and comedians could furnish; but in the vast variety and exquisite dressing of the provisions. These things excited the admiration of ——— of unenlarged minds. Pom-

¹ The *Lucullus* ——— or comic piece was partly tragical, and partly comical. The *Cyclus* of Euripides is the only piece of ——— kind which is extant.

² ——— philosophy grows a little too ——— on this occasion; for it is not easy to see how public fortunes of this kind can be more properly laid out than in the encouragement of the arts. It is to be observed, however, that the in-

crease was ——— ——— to himself in his Asiatic expedition, in some measure justifies the complaints of his army on that subject.

³ This refers to the hills Lucullus bored for the completion of his vault, or for the admission of water. ——— had bored through Mount Athos, and made a passage under it for his ———.

pey, therefore, was highly applauded for ■■■ answer he gave ■■■ physician in ■■■ of sickness. The physician had ordered ■■■ eat ■■ thrush, and his servants ■■■ him, "That as ■■■ summer, there ■■■ no thrushes to be ■■■ except in the menageries of Lucullus." ■■■ he would not suffer them to apply for them there ; and said ■■ his physician, "Must Pompey then have died, ■■ Lucullus had ■■■ been an epicure?" At the same time, ■■ bade them provide him something which was to be had without difficulty.

Cato, though he ■■■ a friend as well ■■ a relation, ■■ Lucullus, ■■■ much displeased with the luxury in which he lived, that when ■■ young ■■■ made a long and unseasonable speech in ■■■ house ■■■ frugality and temperance, Cato rose up and ■■■, "Will you never be ■■■ done? Do you, who have the wealth of Crassus, and live like Lucullus, pretend to speak like Cato?" But some, though they allow that there ■■■ ■■■ a rebuke, say ■■ came from another person.

That Lucullus ■■■ not only delighted with this way of living but even piqued himself upon it, appears from several of his remarkable sayings. He entertained for a considerable time some Greeks who had travelled to Rome, ■■■ remembering the simplicity of diet in their own country, they ■■■ ashamed to wait on him any longer, and desired to be excused on account of the daily expenses they brought upon him. He smiled, and said, "*It is true, my Grecian friends, some part of this provision is for you, but the greatest part is for Lucullus.*" Another time, when he happened to sup alone, and saw but one table and a very moderate provision ■■■ called the servant who had the care of these matters, and expressed his dissatisfaction. The servant said, he thought as nobody was invited, his master would not want an expensive supper. "*What!*" said he, "*didst thou not know that this evening Lucullus sups with Lucullus?*" As this ■■■ the subject of much conversation in Rome, Cicero and Pompey addressed him one day in the *Forum*, when he appeared to be perfectly disengaged. *Cicero was one of his most intimate friends*, and though he had ■■■ difference with Pompey about the command of the army, yet they used ■■ see each other, and ■■■ freely and familiarly. Cicero, after ■■■ salutations, asked him, "Whether he ■■■ at leisure to see company?" He answered, "Nothing could ■■■ agreeable," and pressed them to come to his house. "Then ■■■ will ■■■ it ■■ you," said Cicero, "this evening, ■■ condition you give ■■ nothing but what is provided for yourself." Lucullus made ■■■ difficulty of accepting the condition, and desired them ■■ put ■■ their favour till another day. But they insisted it should be that very evening, and would ■■■ suffer him ■■ speak ■■ his servants, ■■■ ■■ should order some addition ■■ the supper. Only, ■■ his request, they allowed him ■■ ■■ one of them ■■ their presence, "He should sup that evening in the *Apollo*;" which was the name ■■ one of his most magnificent rooms. The persons invited ■■■ no ■■■ of ■■ stratagem ; but, ■■ seems, *each of his dining-rooms had*

particular allowance for provisions, and service of plate, as well as other furniture. So that the servants hearing what room he would sup in, knew very well expense they go to, what side-board and carpets they were to use. The stated charge of an entertainment in the Apollo was 50,000 drachmas, and the whole sum laid out that evening. Pompey, of course, when he vast and expensive provision, surprised the expedition with which it prepared. In this respect Lucullus used his riches with all the disregard one might expect be shown many captives and barbarians.

But the great expense he incurred in collecting books deserves a serious approbation. The number of volumes great, and they were written in elegant hands; yet the he made of them more honourable than the acquisition. His libraries were open all: the Greeks repaired at pleasure to the galleries and porticos, as the retreat of the Muses, and there spent whole days in conversation matters of learning; delighted to retire to such a from business and from care. Lucullus himself often joined these learned men in their walks, and conferred with them: and when he applied to about the affairs of their country, he gave them his assistance and advice. So that his house was in fact an asylum and senate-house to all the Greeks that visited Rome.

He had a veneration for philosophy in general, and there was which he absolutely rejected. But his principal and original attachment was the Academy; that which is called the new, though that flourished and was supported by Philo, who walked in the steps of Carneades; but the old Academy, whose doctrines then taught by Antiochus of Ascalon, a man of the most persuasive powers. Lucullus sought his friendship with great avidity; and having prevailed with him give him his company, him to oppose the disciples of Philo. Cicero of the number, and wrote ingenious book against the old Academy, in which he makes Lucullus defend the principal doctrine in dispute, namely, that there is such a thing as certain knowledge, and himself maintains the contrary. The book is entitled LUCULLUS. They were, indeed, we have observed, sincere friends, and acted upon the principle in the administration. For Lucullus had tirely abandoned concerns of government; only gave up the point the influence and direction. The contest for that, he saw, might attended not only with danger and disgrace, and therefore he left it Crassus and Cato. When he had fused to take the lead, those who looked upon the power of Pompey with a suspicious eye, pitched upon Cra and C support the patrician interests. Lucullus, notwithstanding, gave his in the forum, when business of his friends required it; and did the in the senate-house, when there any ambitious sign of Pompey combat. He got Pompey's orders annulled, which he had made after the conquest of the two kings; and, with assistance of Cato, out his for a distribu of among

This threw Pompey into the arms of Crassus. Caesar, or rather he conspired with them against the commonwealth; and having filled the city with soldiers, drove Cato and Lucullus from the *forum*, and got his established by force.

As these proceedings highly resented by [] who had the interest of their country at heart, Pompey's party instructed one Vectius to act a part; and gave it out that they had detected him in a design against Pompey's life. When Vectius was examined in the senate, he said [] was at the instigation of others; but in the assembly of the people he affirmed Lucullus [] the man who put him upon it. No [] gave credit to the assertion; and, a few days after, it [] very evident that the wretch [] suborned to [] innocent man, when [] dead body [] thrown [] of the prison. Pompey's party said, he had laid violent hands upon himself; but the marks of the cord that had strangled him, and of the blows he [] received, showed plainly that [] was [] by the persons who suborned him.

This event made Lucullus [] more unwilling [] interfere in the [] of government, and when Cicero was banished, and Cato sent to Cyprus, he quitted them entirely. *It is said, that his understanding gradually failed, and that before his death it was absolutely gone.* Cornelius Nepos, indeed, asserts that this failure of his intellect [] not owing [] sickness or old age, but to a potion given him by an enfranchised slave of his, named Callisthenes. Nor did Callisthenes give it him as a poison, but [] a love potion. However, instead of conciliating his master's regards to him, it deprived him of his senses; so that during the last years of his life, his brother had the care of his estate.

Nevertheless, when he died, he was as much regretted by the people, [] if he had departed in that height of glory to which his merit in war and in the administration had raised him. They crowded to the procession; and the body being carried into the *forum* by some young [] of the first quality, they insisted, it should be buried in the *Campus Martius*, [] that of Sylla had been. As this [] a motion entirely unexpected, and the preparations for the funeral there could [] easily be made, his brother, with much [] treaty, prevailed with them to have the obsequies performed on the Tusculan estate, where everything [] prov[] in that purpose. Nor did he long survive him. As he had followed him close in the course of years and honours, [] he [] not far [] him in his journey [] the grave; [] which [] bore the character of the best and [] affectionate of brothers.

MARCUS CRASSUS.

MARCUS CRASSUS, whose father [] borne the office of censor, and been honoured with a triumph, was brought up in a small house with [] two brothers. These married while their parents were

living, and they all sat at the same table. This, we may suppose, contributed not a little to render his diet sober and moderate. Upon the death of one of his brothers, he took the widow and children into his house. He respected women, there was not a man in Rome more regular in his conduct; though, when somewhat advanced in years, he was suspected of a criminal commerce with one of the vestal virgins, Licinia. Licinia was impeached by one Plotinus, but acquitted at her trial. It was the vestal had a beautiful country-house, which Crassus, wanting to have it at an under price, paid his court to the lady with great assiduity, and thence fell under that suspicion. His judges, knowing that avarice was at the bottom of all, acquitted him of the charge of corrupting the vestal: and he let her rest till she had sold him her house.

The Romans say, Crassus had only that vice of avarice, which cast a shade upon his many virtues. He appeared, indeed, to have but one bad quality, because it was much stronger and more powerful than the rest, that it quite obscured them. His love of money is very evident from the size of his estate, and his manner of raising it. At first it did not exceed 300 talents. But, during his public employments, after he had consecrated the tenth of his substance to Hercules, given an entertainment to the people, and a supply of bread corn to each citizen for three months, he found, upon an exact computation, that he was master of 7,100 talents. The greatest part of this fortune, if we may declare the truth, to his disgrace, was gleaned from war and from fires; for he made a traffic of the public calamities. When Sylla had taken Rome, and sold the estates of those whom he had put to death, which he both reputed and called the spoils of his enemies, he was desirous to involve all persons of consequence in his crime, and he found in Crassus a man who refused no kind of gift or purchase.

Crassus observed also how the city was exposed to fires, and how frequently houses fell down; which misfortunes were owing to the weight of the buildings, and their standing close together.¹ In consequence of this, he provided himself with slaves who were carpenters and masons, and was collecting them till he had upwards of five hundred. Then he made it his business to buy houses that were on fire, and others that joined upon them; and he commonly had them at a low price, by reason of the fear and distress the owners were in about the event. Hence, in time, he became one of a great part of Rome. But though he had so many workmen, he built more for himself than one house in which he lived. For he used to say, "That those who love building will soon ruin themselves, and need no other enemies."

Though he had several silver mines, and lands of great value, as well as labourers who turned them to the best advantage, yet it may truly asserted, that the revenue he drew from these was

¹ The streets were narrow and crooked, and the houses chiefly of wood, after the manner of the city.

nothing in comparison of that produced by his slaves. Such a number had [] of them, and [] in life, readers, amanuenses, book-keepers, stewards, and cooks. He used [] attend to their education, and often gave them lessons himself; esteeming it [] principal part of the business of [] master to inspect and take [] of [], whom he considered as the living instruments of economy. In this [] certainly right, if he thought, as he often said, that other matters should be managed by servants, but the [] by [] master. Indeed, economics, so far [] they regard only inanimate things, [] only the low purposes of gain; but where they regard human beings, they rise higher, and form a considerable branch of politics. He [] wrong, however, in saying, that [] ought to be esteemed rich, who could [] with his own [] maintain an army. For [] Archidamus observes, [] be calculated what such [] monster as [] will devour. Nor consequently can it be determined what fortune is sufficient for its demands. Very different in this respect were the sentiments of Crassus from those of Marius. When the latter had made a distribution of lands among his soldiers at the rate of 14 [] a man, and found that they wanted more, he said, "I hope no Roman will ever think that portion of land too little which is sufficient to maintain him."

It must be acknowledged, that Crassus behaved in [] generous manner [] strangers; his house was always open to them. To which we may add, that he used to lend money to his friends without interest. Nevertheless [] rigour in demanding his money the very day it [] due, often made his appearing favour a greater inconvenience than the paying of interest would have been. As [] his invitations, they were most of them to the commonalty; and though there was a simplicity in the provision, yet at the same time there [] a neatness and uncereimonious welcome, which made it [] agreeable than more expensive tables.

As [] his studies, he cultivated oratory, most particularly that of the bar, which had its superior utility. And though [] might [] be reckoned equal, upon the whole, to the first-rate speakers, yet by [] and application he exceeded those whom nature had favoured []. For there was [] a cause, however unimportant, [] which he did not come prepared. Besides, when Pompey, Cæsar, and Cicero, refused to speak, he often [] and finished the argument in favour of the defendant. This attention of [] to assist any unfortunate citizen [] a very popular thing; and his obliging manner [] his common address had [] equal charm. *There was not [] Roman, however mean and insignificant, whom [] did not salute, or whose salutation he did not return by []*

His knowledge of history is also said to have been extensive, and [] not without [] of Aristotle's philosophy. In the latter branch he was assisted by a philosopher named Alexander¹

¹ Xylander conjectures [] might [] said to have [] [] [] []
[] Utens, who is called by the
Polyhistor [] Cæcilius [] who is

a man who gave glorious proofs of his disinterested and mild disposition, during his acquaintance with Crassus. For it is easy to say, whether his poverty was greater when he entered, or when he left his house. He was the only friend Crassus would take with him into the country on which occasions he would lend him a cloak for the journey, but demand it again when he returned to Rome. The patience of that man is truly admirable, particularly, if we consider that the philosophy he professed did not look upon poverty as a thing indifferent.¹

When the faction of Cinna and Marius prevailed, it appeared that they were not returning for any benefit to their country, but for the ruin and destruction of the nobility. Part of them they had already caught and put to death; among whom was the father and brother of Crassus. Crassus himself, who then a very young man, escaped the present danger. But, as he saw the tyrants had their hunters beating about for him on all sides, he took three friends and ten servants with him, and fled with surprising expedition into Spain; where he had attended his father during his pratorship, and gained himself friends. There, too, he found the minds of men full of terror, and all trembling at the cruelty of Marius, as if he had been actually present; therefore he did not venture to apply to any of his friends in public. Instead of that, he went into a farm which Vibius Pacianus had contiguous to the sea, and hid himself in a spacious cave there. From thence he sent one of his servants to sound Vibius; for his provisions already began to fail. Vibius, delighted to hear that he had escaped, inquired the number of people he had with him, and the place of his retreat. He did not wait for him in person, but immediately for the steward of that farm, and ordered him to dress a supper every day, carry it to the foot of the rock, and then retire in silence. He charged him not to be curious in examining into the affair, under pain of death; and promised him his freedom, if he proved faithful in his duty.

The cave is at a small distance from the sea. The surrounding rocks which form it admit only a slight and agreeable breath of air. A little beyond the entrance, it is astonishingly lofty, and the compass of it is so great, that it has several large caverns, like a suite of rooms, one within another. It is not destitute either of light. A spring of excellent water flows from the rock; and there are small natural apertures, where the rocks approach each other at top, through which day-light is admitted. By reason of the thickness of the rock, the interior air too is pure and clear; the foggy and moist part of it being carried away with the wind.

Crassus, in this asylum, had his provisions brought every day by his steward, who neither saw nor knew him or his people, though he was seen by them, because they knew his time, and watched

¹ Aristotle's, as well as Plato's philosophy, reckoned riches among real blessings.

ings, and looked upon them as conducive to virtue.

coming. And he brought only what sufficient use, but delicacies for pleasure. For Vibius had determined to be friend with all imaginable kindness. He reflected that regard should be had to time of life, and he very young, that he should have some particular indulgences on that account. To supply necessities only, he thought, looked like constraint than friendship. Therefore, one day he took with him two handsome maid-servants, and walked towards the cave. When they came to the cave, he showed them the entrance, and bid them go boldly in, for they had nothing to fear. Crassus, seeing them, afraid his retreat was discovered, and began to examine who they were, and what they wanted. They answered as they were instructed, "That they were come to seek their master who lay concealed there." Upon which, he perceived, only a piece of gallantry in Vibius, who studied to divert him. He received the damsels, therefore, and kept them all the time he stayed there; and they served to carry his messages to Vibius, and to bring him back. Fenestella says,¹ he was of them when she was very old, and often heard her tell the story with pleasure.

Crassus spent eight months in this privacy, at the end of which he received intelligence that Cinna was dead. Then he immediately made his appearance, and numbers repaired to him; out of which he selected a corps of 2,500 men. With these he visited the cities; and historians agree that he pillaged one called Malacca. But others tell us, he absolutely denied it, and disclaimed the thing in the face of those who spread the report. After this, he collected vessels, and passed into Africa, to join Metellus Pius, an officer of great reputation, who had raised considerable forces. He did not, however, stay long there. Upon difference with Metellus, he applied himself to Sylla, who received him with pleasure, and ranked him among his principal friends.

When Sylla returned to Italy, he chose to keep the young man about him in exercise, and sent them upon various commissions. Crassus he despatched to levy troops among the Marsi; and, as his passage lay through the country, he demanded guards of Sylla. "*I give thee for guards,*" said he in an angry tone, "*I give thee for guards, thy father, thy brother, thy friends, thy relations, who have been unjustly and abominably sacrificed, and whose I am going to revenge upon their destroyers.*"

Crassus, roused and inflamed with these words, passed boldly through the midst of the enemy: raised a considerable army, and showed attachment, as well as exerted his courage, in all Sylla's conflicts. Hence, we are told, came his first competition and dispute with Pompey for the palm of honour. Pompey the younger man, and had this great disadvantage besides,

¹ Fenestella wrote seven books of annals. He might very well have seen one of these slaves when she was old; for

he did not die till the sixth year of the reign of Tiberius, nor until he was 70 years of age.

father more hated than in Rome. Yet genius forth with such lustre on these occasions, that Sylla treated him with respect than he generally showed much older men, those of his own rank. For he used rise up approach, and uncover his head, and salute him Imperator.

Crassus not a little piqued these things, though there no for his pretensions. He had not the capacity of Pompey ; besides his innate blemishes, his avarice and meanness, robbed his actions of all their grace and dignity. For instance, when he took the city of Tuder Umbria, he was supposed to have appropriated the greatest part of the plunder to his own use, and it represented in that light to Sylla. It is true, in the battle fought near Rome, which the greatest and most decisive of all, Sylla worsted, his troops repulsed, and a number of them killed. Meantime, Crassus, who commanded the right wing, victorious, and having pursued the enemy till night, to inform Sylla of his success, and to demand refreshments for

But in the time of the proscriptions and confiscations, he lost all the credit he had gained ; buying great estates at under-price, and often begging such as he cast his eye upon. Nay, in the country of the Brutians, he is said to have proscribed man without Sylla's order, merely to seize his fortune. Upon this, Sylla gave him up, and never after employed him in any public affair.

Though Crassus was exquisite flatterer himself, yet man was more easily caught by flattery than he. And what was very particular, though he was one of the most covetous men in the world, no man more averse to, or more severe against, such as resembled him.¹ But it gave him still more pain to see Pompey so successful in all his employments, to see him honoured with a triumph, and saluted by the citizens with the title of the Great. One day he happened to be told, "Pompey the Great ing ;" upon which he answered with a scornful smile, "How big is he?"

As he despised of rising to an equality with him in war, he took himself the administration ; and by paying his court, by defending the impeached, by lending money, and by assisting and canvassing for persons who stood for offices, he gained an authority and influence equal to that which Pompey acquired by military achievements. There something remarkably peculiar in their The and interest of Pompey much greater in Rome, when he absent² and distinguishing himself in the field. When present, Crassus often carried his point against him. This he imputed the state and grandeur that he affected : he seldom showed himself in public, or appeared in assemblies people ; and he very rarely served those who made application

¹ It was observed by the ingenious Mr. Shenstone, that a covetous will the first to find out and not expose come. Even of the same virtues love each other for the sake of their virtues ;

but sympathy in vice is fully really a contrary effect.

² This was not peculiar to Pompey ; it was the case of Ulpian and many others

■ him ; imagining by that means ■ should have ■ interest entire when he wanted it himself. Crassus, on the contrary, had ■ services ■ ready for those who wanted them ; he constantly made his appearance ; ■ ■ easy of access ; his ■ ■ spent in business and good offices : ■ that his open and obliging ■ got the better of Pompey's distance and sate.

As ■ dignity of person, powers of persuasion, and engaging ■ of countenance, ■ are told they were the ■. But the emulation with which Crassus ■ actuated never carried him ■ ■ hatred and malignity. It is true, he was concerned ■ see Pompey and Cæsar held ■ greater honour, ■ he did ■ ■ rancour and malevolence ■ ■ ambition ; though Cæsar, when ■ ■ taken by pirates, in Asia, and strictly confined, cried out, "O Crassus, what pleasure ■ it give thee to hear that I am taken !" How- ■ they ■ afterwards upon a footing of friendship ; and when Cæsar ■ going to set out for his command in Spain, and his creditors ■ ready to seize his equipage, because he could not satisfy them, Crassus ■ kind enough to deliver him from the embarrassment, by giving security for 830 talents.

Rome ■ ■ this time divided into three parties, at the head of which ■ Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus. For, as to Cato, his reputation ■ greater than his power, and his virtues more admired than followed. The prudent and steady part of the city were for Pompey ; the violent and the enterprising gave into the prospects of Cæsar ; Crassus steered a ■ ■ course, and availed himself of both. Crassus, indeed, often changed sides, and neither was a firm friend, ■ ■ implacable enemy. On the contrary, he frequently gave up either his attachments or resentments indifferently when his interest required it ; insomuch that in a short space of time he would appear either in support or opposition to the ■ ■ persons and laws. He had ■ ■ influence founded in love, and some in fear ; but fear was the ■ ■ serviceable principle of the two. An instance of the latter ■ have in Licinius, who ■ very troublesome ■ the magistrates and ■ ■ orators of his time. When he was asked, why ■ did not ■ attack Crassus among the rest, he answered, "*He ■ wips upon his horns.*"¹ So the Romans used to serve a vicious bull, for a warning ■ all persons that passed him.

When the gladiators took up arms and ravaged Italy, their insurrection ■ commonly called the ■ of Spartacus. Its origin ■ this : One Lentulus Batiatus kept at Capua ■ number of gladiators, the greatest part of which ■ Gauls and Thracians ; men not reduced to that employment for any crimes they had committed, but forced upon it by the injustice of their master. Two hundred of them, therefore, agreed to make their escape. Though ■ plot ■ discovered, 78 of them, by their ■ ■ vigilance ■ beforehand with their master, ■ ■ out of town, having first ■ all the long knives ■ spits in a cook's shop. On the

¹ This passed into a proverb.

road they met ■■■ waggons carrying ■ quantity ■ gladiators' ■■ to another place. These they seized, and armed themselves with them. Then they retired to a place of strength, ■■ made choice of three leaders.¹ The first ■■ Spartacus, whose extraction was from ■■ of those Thracian *hordes* called Nomades. This ■■ had ■■ only a dignity of mind, a strength of body, but ■ discernment and civility superior to ■■ fortune. In short, he ■■ more ■■ Greek than a barbarian, in his ■■

It ■■ said, that when he was first brought to Rome ■■ he sold, ■■ serpent was seen twisted about his face ■■ he slept. His wife, ■■ ■■ ■■ tribe, having the gift of divination, ■■ being a ■■ tainer besides to the orgies of Bacchus, said, it was a sign that he would rise to something very great and formidable, ■■ result of which would ■■ happy.² This woman still lived with him, and was ■■ companion of ■■ flight.

The fugitives first distinguished themselves by defeating ■ party sent against them from Capua; whose ■■ they seized ■■ wore ■■ great satisfaction; throwing away those of gladiators, as dishonourable and barbarous. Clodius Glaber the prætor ■■ then sent against them from Rome, with a body of 3,000 men; and he besieged them on the hill where they were posted. There was but one ascent, which ■■ very narrow and rugged, and there he placed a sufficient guard. The rest was all ■■ craggy precipice, but covered with wild vines. The fugitives cut off such of the branches as might be of ■■ service, and formed them into a ladder of sufficient strength, and so long as to reach the plain beneath. By the help o' this ladder they all got down safely except ■■ This man remained above only to let down their arms; ■■ when he had done that, he descended after them.

The Romans knowing nothing of this manœuvre, the gladiators came upon their rear, and attacked them so suddenly, that they ■■ in great consternation, and ■■ their camp to the enemy. Spartacus ■■ there joined by the herdsmen and shepherds of the country, ■■ of great vigour, and remarkably swift of foot. Some of these ■■ clad in heavy armour, and the ■■ served ■■ ■■ noitring parties, and for other purposes of the light-armed.

The ■■ general ■■ against these gladiators ■■ Publius Varinus. They first routed his lieutenant Furius, who engaged them with ■ detachment of 2,000 ■■ After ■■ Spartacus watched the motions of Cossinius, who ■■ appointed assistant and chief counsellor to Varinus, and was ■■ marching against him with a considerable force. His vigilance ■■ such, that he was very ■■ taking Cossinius in the bath ■■ Salenæ; and though ■■ ■■ escape with much difficulty, Spartacus seized his bag ■■ Then ■■ pursued his steps, and took his camp, having first ■■ great numbers of the Romans. Cossinius himself was among the

¹ Spartacus, Crixus, and Oenomaus. This ■■ began in A.D.C. 72; B.C. 71. ■■ end was happy ■■ a gladiator.

He died fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

slain. ■ subsequent operations were equally decisive. ■ beat Varinus in several engagements, and *took his sisters, and ■ very horse he rode.*

By this time he was become great and formidable. Nevertheless ■ views ■ moderate, he had too much understanding ■ hope in the conquest of ■ Romans, and therefore ■ ■ army ■ the Alps, with ■ intention to cross them, and then dismiss ■ troops, that they might retire to their respective countries, ■ ■ Thrace, and ■ to Gaul. But they, relying upon their numbers, and elated with success, would ■ listen to his proposal. Instead of that, they laid Italy waste as they traversed it.

It ■ no longer the indignity and disgrace of ■ revolt that afflicted the senate; it was fear and danger; and they now employed both the consuls in this war, as ■ of the ■ difficult and important they ■ had upon their hands. Cælius, ■ the consuls, having surprised ■ body of Germans, who ■ so rash and self-opinionated ■ ■ separate from the troops of Spartacus, defeated them entirely and put them to the sword. Lentulus, the other consul, endeavoured to surround Spartacus, with his forces, which ■ very considerable. Spartacus met him fairly in the field, beat his lieutenants, and stripped them of their baggage. He then continued his route towards the Alps, but was opposed by Cassius, who commanded in that part of Gaul which lay about the Po, and came against him at the head of 10,000 men. A battle ensued, in which Cassius was defeated, with great loss, ■ saved himself not without difficulty.

No sooner ■ the senate informed of these miserable proceedings, than they expressed the greatest indignation against the consuls, and gave orders that ■ should be superseded in the command. C ■ was the person they pitched upon as a successor, and many of the nobility served under him, ■ volunteers, ■ well on account of his political influence as from personal ■ regard. He ■ and posted himself in the Picene, in order ■ intercept Spartacus, who was to march that way. At the same time he sent his lieutenant Mummius round with two legions; giving him strict orders only to follow the enemy, and by ■ ■ to hazard either battle ■ skirmish. Mummius, however, upon the first promising occasion, engaged Spartacus, and ■ entirely routed. Numbers fell upon the field of battle, and many others threw away their arms, and ■ for their lives.

Crassus gave Mummius a ■ reprimand, and ■ armed his men, but insisted withal that they should find security for their keeping those arms they ■ now intrusted with. ■ first 500, who had shown the greatest marks of cowardice, ■ divided into 50 parts, and put ■ ■ each decade ■ death, to whose lot ■ might happen ■ fall; thus reviving an ancient custom of military punishment ■ which had been long disused. Indeed, this ■ of punishment ■ is the greatest mark of infamy, and being put ■ execution in sight of the whole army, is attended with many awful and affecting circumstances.

After thus chastising his men, he turned them against his enemy. But Spartacus turned back and retired through Lucania. The rebel happening to find a number of vessels in harbour belonging to the Cilician pirates, resolved to make an attempt upon Sicily; where, at the head of 2,000 men, he thought he could easily rekindle the Servile war, which had but lately been smothered¹ and which wanted little fuel to make it flame out again. Accordingly the pirates entered into agreement with him; but they no sooner taken his money than they broke their engagement, and sailed another way. Spartacus, thus deceived, left the sea, and entrenched himself in the peninsula of Rhegium.

When Crassus came up, he observed that the place suggested what he should take; in the place of which he determined to build a wall across the isthmus. This, he knew, would at once keep his soldiers from idleness, and cut off the enemy's supplies. The work was great and difficult: nevertheless he finished it beyond all expectation, in a short time, drawing a trench from the sea to the sea 300 furlongs in length, 15 feet in breadth, and as many in depth; he built a wall also above it of considerable height and strength.

Spartacus at first made a jest of the undertaking. But, when his plunder began to fail, and he wanted to go farther, he found the wall before him, and at the same time was conscious that the peninsula was exhausted. He watched his opportunity, however, in a snowy and tempestuous night, to break up the trench with fire, wood, and other materials; and so passed it with a third part of his army. Crassus now began to fear, that Spartacus, in the spirit of enterprise, would march immediately to Rome. But when he observed that a number of the enemy, upon some difference or other, separated and encamped upon the Lucanian lake, he recovered his spirits. The water of this lake is said to change in such a manner, as sometimes to be sweet and fresh, and at other times so salt that it is impossible to drink it. Crassus, upon this party, and drove them from the lake, but could not do any great execution, nor continue the pursuit far, because Spartacus made his appearance, and rallied the fugitives.

Crassus now repented of having written to the senate, that it was necessary to recall Lucullus from Thrace, and Pompey from Spain; and hastened to finish the war himself. For he was sensible that the general who should come to his assistance would rob him of all his honour. He resolved, therefore, in the first place, to attack the troops which had revolted, and formed a separate body, under the command of two officers named Cannicius and Castus. With this view, he sent a corps of 6,000 men before to seize the eminence which he thought would be of service to him, but ordered them to conduct their enterprise with all imaginable secrecy. They observed the directions; and, to conceal their march the better,

¹ It was but nineteen years before, that a peace was put to the Servile war in Sicily.

covered their helmets and the rest of their ■ Two ■ however, who ■ sacrificing before the enemy's camp, discovered them ; and they would probably have ■ their fate, ■ not Crassus advanced immediately, and given the enemy battle. This was the ■ obstinate action in the whole ■ 12,300 of the enemy ■ killed, of which number there ■ only ■ found wounded in the back ; the rest died in their ranks, after the bravest exertions of valour.

Spartacus, after this defeat, retired towards the mountains ■ Petelia ; ■d Quintus, one of Crassus's officers, and Scrophia the quaestor, marched after to harass his rear. But, Spartacus facing about, the Romans fled in the ■ dastardly manner, and with great difficulty carried off the quaestor, who ■ wounded. This success ■ the ruin of Spartacus. It gave the fugitives such spirits, that they would no longer decline a decisive action, ■ obedient ■ their officers ; but as they ■ upon ■ road, addressed them with their swords in their hands, and insisted on marching back through Lucania with the utmost expedition, ■ the Romans, and face Crassus in the field.

This ■ the very thing that Crassus desired. He ■ informed that Pompey was approaching ; and of the many speeches to the people on occasion of the ensuing election, in which it was asserted, that this laurel belonged to him, and that, as soon as he made his appearance, he would by some decisive stroke put an end to the war.

Crassus, therefore, hastened to give that stroke himself, and, with the ■ vlew, encamped very near the enemy. One day when he had ordered his soldiers to dig a trench, the gladiators attacked them as they ■ at work. Numbers came up continually on both sides to support the combatants ; and at last Spartacus seeing what the case necessarily required, drew out his whole army. When they brought him his horse, he drew his sword and killed him, saying ■ the ■ time, " If I prove victorious, I shall have horses at command ; if I am defeated, I shall have ■ need of this." His aim was to find Crassus, and he made his way through showers of darts and heaps of the slain. He ■ not, indeed, reach him, but he killed with his ■ hand two centurions who ventured ■ engage him. At last, those that seconded him fled. He, however, still stood his ground, and though surrounded by numbers, fought with great gallantry, till he ■ cut in pieces.

Crassus, on this occasion, availed himself of every circumstance with which fortune favoured him ; he performed every ■ of generalship ; ■ exposed his person in the boldest manner ; yet he ■ only wreathing a laurel for the brows of Pompey. Pompey met, it seems, those who escaped ■ of the field, and put them ■ the sword. In consequence of which, he wrote ■ senate, " That Crassus had indeed beaten the fugitive gladiators in a pitched battle ; but that it ■ he ■ cut up the ■ by ■ "

Pompey, on ■ Rome, triumphed in ■ magnificent

manner for the conquest of Sertorius and Spain. As for Crassus, he did not pretend to ask for the greater triumph; and the less, which is led up on foot, under the shadow of an ovation, seemed to have no propriety or decorum in the conquest of fugitive slaves.

Pompey immediately consented to the consulship; and though Crassus had interest enough of his own to encourage him in the hope for the honour, yet he scrupled to solicit his good offices. Pompey received the application with pleasure; for he was desirous by all means to have Crassus under an obligation to him. He, therefore, readily espoused his cause; and, last, when he made speech to the people, said, "he was much indebted to them for the colleague they had given him for their favour to himself." However, the good understanding did not long continue; they differed about almost every article that came before them; and those disputes and altercations prevented their doing anything considerable during their whole consulship. The remarkable thing was, that Crassus offered a great sacrifice to Hercules, entertained the people 10,000 tables, and gave them a supply of bread-corn for three months.

When they held one of the last assemblies before they quitted their charge, a Roman knight, named Onatius Aurelius, who had spent most of his time in a retired manner in the country, and was of great note, mounted the rostrum, and gave the people an account of a vision that had appeared to him. "Jupiter," said he, "appeared to me in a dream, and commanded me to inform you in this public manner, that you were to suffer the consuls to lay down their office before they are reconciled." He had ended his speech than the people insisted that they should be reconciled.—Pompey stood without making any motion towards it, but Crassus went and offered him his hand. "I am not ashamed, my fellow citizens," said he, "nor do I think it beneath me, to make the first advances to Pompey, whom you distinguished with the shadow of Great, while he was but a headless youth, and whom you honoured with a triumph before he was a senator."

These were the only memorable things in the consulate of Crassus. As for his censorship, he passed without anything worth mentioning.¹ He made inquiry into the lives and conduct of the senators; he did not review the equestrian order, or number the people. Lucatius Catulus, one of the best natured men in the world, was his colleague; and it is said that when Crassus wanted to adopt a violent and unjust measure, I mean the making of Egypt tributary to Rome, Catulus strongly opposed it; and hence arose that difference, in consequence of which they resigned their charge.

The great conspiracy of Cataline, which brought the monarchy to the verge of destruction, broke out, Crassus was suspected of having some concern in it. Nay, there was one who

¹ He was censor six years after his consulship, 83 a.c.

named him among the conspirators ; but no ■ gave credit ■ information.¹ It is true, Cicero, ■ one of his orations, openly accuses both Crassus and Cæsar of that crime. But that oration did not appear in public till both those great men ■ dead. On the other hand, the same Cicero, ■ the oration he delivered relating to his consulship, expressly says, that Crassus came ■ him ■ night, and put ■ letter in ■ hands, which showed the reality of the plot into which they were then inquiring. ■ that as ■ may, it is certain that *Crassus after this conceived a mortal hatred for Cicero*, and would have shown it in ■ act of violence, had not his ■ Publius prevented it. Publius ■ ■ of letters, and eloquence had a particular charm for him—hence his attachment to Cicero ■ so great, that when the bill for his banishment ■ proposed, ■ went into mourning, and persuaded the ■ of ■ Roman youth ■ do the same. At last, he ■ prevailed with his father to be reconciled to him.

About this time, Cæsar returned from his government, to solicit the consulship. Finding Crassus and Pompey again at variance, he would ■ apply ■ either in particular, lest he should make the other his enemy ; nor could he hope to succeed without the assistance of one of them. In this dilemma he determined, if possible, ■ effect a good understanding once more between them. For which purpose he represented, "That, by levelling their artillery against each other, they raised the Ciceros, the Catuli, and the Catos ; who would be nothing, if they ■ once real friends, and took ■ to ■ in concert. If that were the case," said he, "with your united interests and counsels you might carry all before you."

These representations had their effect, and, *by joining himself to the league, he formed that invincible triumvirate which ruined the ■ and people of Rome. Not that either Crassus or Pompey gained any advantage from their union ; but Cæsar, by the help of both, climbed ■ the highest pinnacle of power. An earnest of this he had, in his being unanimously elected consul. And as he acquitted himself in his office with great honour, they procured him the command of armies, and decreed him the province of Gaul, where he ■ established as in ■ impregnable castle. For, they imagined if they did but secure to him the province that ■ fallen to his lot, they might share the rest between ■ ■ their ■*

It ■ the immoderate love of power which ■ Pompey into this ■ And Crassus ■ his old disease of avarice now ■ a ■

¹ Sallust says otherwise. He tells us it ■ ■ to some, but others believed it. Yet, not thinking it advisable to overstate a man of so much power, they joined his retainers and ■ who owed him ■ in crying it was a ■ ■ in saying the senate ought ■ ■ him ; which accordingly they did. Some were of opinion, and Crassus

himself among the rest, the informer was ■ by Cicero. But what ■ could Cicero have in accusing a man of his consequence, unless it were ■ alarm the senate and people the more with a sense of their danger ? ■ ■ ■ was proposed to himself in entering a plot to have a city in which his ■ party was so large :

The achievements, the victories, triumphs of Cæsar, raised in Crassus a passion for the same; and he could not be beneath him in respect, though he was much superior in others. He therefore never left himself rest, met an inglorious fate, and involved his country in the dreadful calamities.

On Cæsar's coming from Gaul the city of Lucca, numbers wait upon him, and among the rest Crassus and Pompey. These, in their private conferences, agreed with him to carry with a higher hand, and make themselves absolute in Rome. For this purpose Cæsar was to remain head of the army, and the other two chiefs to divide the provinces and armies between them. There was no way, however, to carry their scheme into execution, without suing for another consulship; in which Cæsar was to assist by writing to his friends, and by sending a number of his soldiers to vote in the election.

When Crassus and Pompey returned to Rome, their designs were very much suspected; and the general discourse was, that the late interview boded no good to the commonwealth. Hereupon, Marcellinus and Domitius Ænobarbus asked Pompey in full senate, "Whether he intended to solicit the consulship?" To which he answered, "Perhaps I may—perhaps not." And upon their interrogating him a second time, he said, "If I solicit it, I shall solicit it for men of honour, and not for men of a meaner principle." As this answer appeared to have too much of haughtiness and contempt, Crassus expressed himself with more moderation, "If it be for the public good, I shall solicit it—if not, I shall forbear."

By this other candidates, and among the Domitius, were emboldened to appear; but as soon as Crassus and Pompey declared themselves, the rest dropped their pretensions. Only Domitius was exhorted and encouraged by his friend and kinsman Cato, "Not to abandon his prospects, but stand boldly up for the liberties of his country. As for Pompey and Crassus, he said, they wanted the consulship, but absolute power; it was much their aim to be chief magistrates at home, to seize the provinces, and divide the armies between them."

Cato having thus expressed his real sentiments, drew Domitius almost forcibly into the forum, and numbers joined them there. For they were greatly surprised at this step of Crassus and Pompey. "Why do they demand," said they, "a second consulship? Why together? Why not with others? Have not many persons of merit sufficient to entitle them to be colleagues with either Crassus or Pompey?"

Pompey's party, alarmed at these speeches, threw a mask, and adopted the most violent measures. Among other out- they waylaid Domitius as he was going to the place of election before day, accompanied by his friends; killed the torch-bearer, wounded many in his train, Cato among the

Then they shut them all up together till Crassus and Pompey [] elected.

A little after this, they confined Domitius to [] house, by planting armed men about it, drove Cato [] of the *forum*, and killed several who made resistance. Having thus cleared the way, they continued Cæsar in his government for five years more, and got Syria and both the Spains for their own provinces. Upon casting lots, Syria fell to Crassus, and the Spains to Pompey.

The allotment was [] disagreeable to the multitude. They chose [] have Pompey not far from Rome; and Pompey, who passionately loved his wife, was very glad of the opportunity to spend most of [] time there. As for Crassus, as [] it appeared that Syria [] his lot, he discovered the greatest joy, and considered it as the principal happiness of his life; insomuch that [] before strangers and the populace he could hardly restrain his transports. To his intimate friends he opened himself [] freely, expressing the [] sanguine hopes and indulging in vain elevations of heart, unsuitable to his age and disposition: for in general he was far from being pompous or inclined to vanity. But now extravagantly elated and corrupted by his flattering prospects, he considered not Syria and the Parthians as the termination of his good fortune; but intended [] make the expedition of Lucullus against Tigranes, and of Pompey against Mithridates, appear only the sports of children. *His design was to penetrate [] the Bactrians, the Indians, the eastern ocean, and [] his hopes he had already swallowed up the east.*

In the law relating [] the government of Crassus, no mention [] made of a war in his neighbourhood; but all the world knew Crassus had [] eye to it. And Cæsar, in the letter he wrote to him from Gaul, commended his design, and encouraged him to attack [] Parthians. But when he was going to [] out, Ateius, [] of the tribunes, threatened to stop him, and numbers joined the tribunes's party. They could not without indignation think of his going [] begin hostilities against a people who had done them no injury, and [] in fact their allies. Crassus, alarmed at this, desired Pompey [] conduct him out of Rome. He knew the dignity of Pompey, and the veneration the populace had for him; and [] this occasion, though many were prepared [] withstand Crassus, and [] raise a clamour against him, yet when they [] Pompey marching before him with an open and [] countenance, they dropped their resentment, and made way in silence.

Ateius, however, advanced to meet him. In the first place, by the authority of [] [] he commanded him [] [], and protested against his enterprise. Then he ordered one of [] officers to seize him. But the other tribunes interposing, the officer let Crassus []. Ateius [] ran [] to the gate, and placed there a censor with [] in it. At [] approach of Crassus he sprinkled incense upon it, offered libations, and uttered [] [] horrid imprecations, invoking [] the same time certain dreadful [] [] gods. The Romans say, these mysterious [] ancient imprecations

have power,¹ that the object escapes their effect; nay, they add, the person who them sure be unhappy, that they are seldom used, and but upon great occasion. Ateius was much blamed for rash zeal. It for his country's sake that he was an adversary Crassus, yet it his country he laid under that dreadful curse.

Crassus, pursuing his journey, came to Brundisium; and though the winter made the voyage dangerous, he put sea, and lost a number of vessels in his passage. As as he had collected the of his troops, continued his by land through Galatia. There he paid his respects to Deiotarus, who, though an old man, building a city. Crassus laughed, and said, "You begin build at the twelfth hour of the day!" The king laughed in his turn, and answered, "You do set very early in the morning against the Parthians!" Crassus, indeed, was then above sixty years of age,² and he looked much older than he was.

Upon his arrival in Syria, his affairs prospered first according to his expectation. He threw a bridge over the Euphrates with ease, and his army passed over it without opposition. Many cities in Mesopotamia voluntarily received him; and only stood upon its defence. The prince who governed it was named Apollonius. The Romans having lost about 100 before it, Crassus marched against it with his forces, took it by assault, plundered it of everything valuable, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. The Greeks called that city Zenodotia.³ Crassus, upon taking it, suffered his army to him *Imperator*; a thing which reflected no small disgrace upon him: it showed the meanness of his spirit, and his despair of effecting anything considerable, when he valued himself upon such a trifling acquisition.

After he had garrisoned the that had submitted with 7,000 foot and 1,000 horse, he returned into Syria, winter. There he joined by his son, whom Caesar had him from Gaul, adorned with military honours, and the head of 1,000 select horse.

Among many which Crassus committed in this war, the first, and none of the least, was his returning soon into Syria. ought have gone forward, and strengthened himself with the accession of Babylon and Seleucia, cities always enmity with the Parthians: instead of which, he gave the enemy abundant time prepare themselves. Besides, his occupations in Syria greatly censured, having of the trader in them than of the general. Instead examining into the arms of soldiers, keeping them exercise, and improving their strength and activity by proper rewards, he inquiring into the revenues of cities, and

¹ —Dira detestatio
Nulla exultatio victoriam. —Rom.

² Crassus set out upon this expedition in the year of Rome 699.

³ Zenodotia, a province of Ochoene.

weighing the [] in the temple of the goddess of Hierapolis.¹ And though [] fixed the quotas of troops which the [] principalities [] furnish, he let them off again for a [] of money; which exposed him to the contempt [] those whom []

The first sign of his future fortune [] from [] very goddess, whom [] call *Pennis*, some *Fano*, others *Nature*, [] great principle which produces all things out of moisture, and instructs mankind in the knowledge of everything that [] good. As they [] going out of the [] temple, young Crassus stumbled and [] the gate, and his father [] upon him.

He [] drawing his troops out of winter-quarters, when ambassadors came from Arsaces, [] addressed him in [] short speech: "If this army was [] against the Parthians by the Roman people, that people has nothing [] expect but perpetual [] and enmity irreconcilable. [] if Crassus, against the inclinations of his country (which they were informed [] the case), [] gratify his own avarice, has undertaken this war, and invaded [] of the Parthian provinces, Arsaces will act with more moderation. He will take compassion on Crassus's age, and let the Romans go, though in fact he considers them rather as in prison than in garrison." To this Crassus made no return but a rhodomontade; he said, "*He would give them his answer at Seleucia.*" Upon which Vagises, the oldest of the ambassadors, laughed; and, turning up the palm of his hand, replied, "*Crassus, here will hair grow before them will see Seleucia.*"

The ambassadors then returned to their king Orodes,² and told him he must prepare for war. Meantime, some Romans escaped with difficulty from the cities they garrisoned in Mesopotamia, and brought [] very alarming account of the enemy. They said, "they had been eye-witnesses to their immense numbers, and [] their dreadful [] of fighting, when they attacked the towns." And, [] it is usual for fear [] magnify its object, they added, "[] is impossible either [] escape them when they pursue, or [] take them when they fly. They have [] new and strange sort of arrows, which [] swifter than lightning, and reach their mark before you can [] they [] discharged; nor are they less fatal in their effects than swift [] their course. The offensive [] of their cavalry pierces through everything, and the defensive [] [] so well tempered, that nothing can pierce them."

The Roman soldiers [] were struck with this account, and their courage began [] droop. They had imagined [] the Parthians

¹ About 20 miles from the Euphrates there was a city known by the several names [] Bambyce, Edeasa, and Hierapolis. By the Syrian [] was called Magog. The goddess Atergatis was worshipped there with [] devotion. Lucian mentions her [] as the dearest in the world.

² Here the king of [] [] called

Orodes, who before was called Arsaces. Arsaces was probably a name common to the kings of that country, and Orodes the proper name of this prince. He was the son of Phraates the second, and made his way to the crown through the blood of his elder brother, Mithridates. For this he deservedly died the same kind of death.

from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus beaten and driven before him till he weary ; consequently that the hardest part of the expedition would the length of way, the trouble of pursuing men who would stand an engagement. But they they had and danger look in the face, which they had thought of : insomuch that several of the principal were of opinion that Crassus ought stop, and call a council consider whether new measures ought to be taken. number Cassius the quaestor. Besides, the soothsayers whispered sacrifices were not accepted by the gods, and signs appeared always inauspicious to the general. However, he paid no attention to them, nor to any but those who were for hastening his march.

He confirmed in his intentions by the arrival of Artavasdes,¹ king of Armenia. That prince with 6000 horse, which he said only his body guard. He promised Crassus 10,000 more, armed at all points, and 30,000 foot, maintained at his expense. At the time, he advised him to enter Parthia by way of Armenia. "By that means," said he, "you will not only have plenty of provisions, which I shall take care to supply you with ; but your march be safe, it will lie along a chain of mountains, and a country almost impracticable for cavalry, in which the Parthian strength consists." Crassus received his tender of service and noble offer of but coldly ; and said, "He should march through Mesopotamia, where he had left a number of brave Romans." Upon the Armenian bade him adieu, and returned to his country.

As Crassus was passing the Euphrates at Zeugma, he met with dreadful bursts of thunder, and lightnings flamed in the face of his troops. At the time, the black clouds emitted a hurricane mingled with fire, which broke down and destroyed great part of his bridge. The place which he had marked out for a camp was also twice struck with lightning. One of the general's horses, richly caparisoned, running away with his rider, leaped into the river, and no more. And it is said, when the foremost eagle moved, in order for march, it turned back of its own accord. Besides these ill tokens, it happened when the soldiers had their provisions distributed, after they had crossed the river, they were first served with lentils and salt, reckoned ominous, and commonly placed upon the monuments of dead. In a speech of Crassus the an expression escaped him, which struck them all with horror. He said "broken down the bridge, that one of them might return." And when he ought, upon perceiving propriety of the expression, have recalled, or explained dated troops, obstinacy would permit him. To may add, that sacrifice

¹ the text he is here called Artabanus ; but, as calls him

everywhere afterwards, we thought it proper to put it so here.

offered for his instruction of his army, the *aruspex* having put
 entrust his hands, let fall. All who attended the
 money struck with astonishment; but he only with a smile,
 "what it is to be old! My sword, however, slip
 my hands in this manner."

Immediately after this, he began march along side of
 Euphrates, with seven legions, near 4,000 horse, and almost
 many of the light-armed. He not gone far before some of
 returned, and told him, they had not found so much
 man in their excursions; but that there many vestiges of
 cavalry, who appeared have as if they had been pursued.

Crassus began be more sanguine in his hopes, and the
 soldiers the enemy in contempt, upon a supposition that
 they durst not stand an encounter. Nevertheless, Cassius
 addressed himself the general again, and advised him, "To secure
 his troops fortified town, till he should have account
 of the enemy that might be depended upon. If he did not choose
 that, desired him keep along the river till he reached Seleucia;
 for by this means he would be constantly supplied with provisions
 from the vessels that would follow his camp; and the river pre-
 venting his being surrounded, he would always have it in his power
 fight upon equal terms."

While Crassus weighing these counsels with much delibera-
 tion, there arrived Arabian chief named Ariamnes.¹ This art-
 ful and perfidious man was the principal instrument of all the
 calamities which fortune preparing for the ruin of Crassus.
 Some of his officers who had served under Pompey, knew how
 much Ariamnes was indebted that general's favour, and that in
 consequence he passed for a well-wisher to the Romans. But now,
 gained by the Parthian officers, he concerted with them a scheme
 draw Crassus from the river and the higher grounds, into an
 immense plain where he might easily be surrounded. For the
 enemy thought of nothing less than fighting pitched battle with
 the Romans.

This barbarian, then, addressing himself Crassus, first
 launched into the praises of Pompey as his benefactor, for he
 was a voluble and artful speaker. Then he expressed admira-
 of so fine army, but withal took occasion blame Crassus
 for his delays, and the time he spent in preparing; as if weapons,
 and not rather active hands and feet, required against
 people, who had long been determined to retire with their
 valuable effects, and with their families and friends, to the Scythians
 and Hyrcanians. "Or suppose you have fight," said he, "you
 ought to hasten to the encounter, before the king recover his spirits,
 and collect his forces. At present he has only out Surena
 and Sillaces amuse you, and prevent your pursuit of himself.
 For his part, will take care appear in the field."

This story was false in every circumstance. For Orodes

¹ Appian and Dion Cassius call him Aobarus or Agbarus

divided his army into parts ; of which was ravaged Armenia, to wreak his vengeance upon Artavasdes ; Surena was with the other, to against the Romans. Not that the king (as some have it) had any the Romans, for Crassus, of the powerful R produced, not an antagonist whom should despise, think it a fairer field of honour go and fight with Artavasdes, and lay waste Armenia. On the contrary, it is highly probable, it was his apprehension of danger which made him keep a distance and such the rising event ; order to which he sent Surena before him, make trial of the enemy's strength, and them with his stratagems. For Surena was an ordinary person ; but in fortune, family, and honour, the after the king ; and in point of courage and capacity, as well as in size and beauty, superior the Parthians of his time. If he went only upon an excursion into the country, he had 1,000 camels to carry his baggage, and carriages for his concubines. He was attended by 1,000 heavy-armed horse, and many more of the light-armed rode before him. Indeed, his vassals and slaves made up a body of cavalry little less than 10,000. *He had the hereditary privilege in his family to put the diadem upon the king's head, when he was crowned.* When Orodes driven from the throne, he restored him ; and it was he who conquered for him the great city of Seleucia, being the first scale the wall, beating off the enemy with his own hand. Though he was then not thirty years old, his discernment was strong, and his counsel esteemed the best. These were the talents by which he overthrew Crassus, who laid himself open to his arts, first by a too sanguine confidence, and afterwards by his fears and depression under misfortunes.

When Crassus had listened the lure of Ariamnes, and left the river to march into the plain, the traitor led him a way that smooth and easy at first ; but after a while it became extremely difficult, by of the deep sands in which he to wade, and the sight of a vast desert without wood or water, which afforded no prospect of repose or hope of refreshment. that his troops ready give out, only through thirst and the difficulty of the march, but through the comfortless and melancholy view before them of a country where there neither tree to be, no hill to shelter them, green herb growing, but the billows of an immense sea of sand surrounding the whole army.

These things gave them sufficient reason they betrayed ; but when the envoys of Artavasdes arrived, there was no to doubt it. That prince informed Crassus, " That Orodes had invaded his kingdom with a great army, so that now he could Romans succours. Therefore advised them march towards Armenia, where, their united forces, they might give Orodes battle. If Crassus did not relish this advice, conjured to upon any ground favour- the cavalry, keep close to the mountains." Crassus

and infatuation would send no [] in writing ; [] only said, "He was not at leisure now to think of [] Armenians, but by and by he would come and chastise their king for his perfidiousness." Cassius was extremely chagrined, but would [] make any more remonstrances to [] general, who was already offended [] liberty he had taken. He applied, however, [] the barbarian in private, in such [] as these, "O thou vilest of impostors, what malevolent demon has brought thee amongst us ? By what potions, by what enchantments, hast thou prevailed upon Crassus to pour [] army into [] vast, [] amazing desert ; a march more [] for a Numidian robber than for a Roman general ?" The barbarian, who had [] enough [] adapt himself to [] occasions, humbled himself to Cassius, and encouraged him [] hold out and have patience only a little longer. As for the soldiers, he rode about the ranks under a pretence of fortifying them against their fatigues, and made [] several taunting expressions [] them, "What," said he, "do you imagine that you [] marching through Campania ? Do you expect the fountains, the streams, the shades, the baths, and houses of refreshment you meet with there ? And will you never remember that you are traversing the barren confines of the Arabians and Assyrians ?" Thus the traitor admonished, or rather insulted the Romans, and got off at last before his imposture [] discovered. Nor was this without the general's knowledge ; he even persuaded him then, that he was going upon some scheme to put the enemy in disorder.

It is said, that Crassus on that day did not appear in [] purple robe, such [] the Roman generals used to wear, but in a black one ; and when he perceived his mistake, he went and changed it. Some of the standards too [] rooted in the ground, that they could not be moved without the greatest efforts. Crassus only laughed at the omen, and hastened his march the more, making [] foot keep up with the cavalry. Meantime the remains of a reconnoitring party returned, with [] account that their comrades [] killed by the Parthians, and that they had escaped with great difficulty. At the [] time they [] him, that the enemy [] advancing with very [] forces, and in the highest spirits.

This intelligence spread great dismay among the troops, and Crassus [] the [] terrified of all. In his confusion he had scarce understanding enough about him [] draw [] army properly. At first, agreeably [] the opinion of Cassius, he extended the front of his infantry so [] occupy a great space of ground, [] prevent their being surrounded, and distributed the cavalry in the wings. But soon altering his mind, *he drew up the legions [] a close square, [] front every way, each front consisting of twelve cohorts ; every cohort had its troop of horse allotted it, that no part might remain unsupported by the cavalry, [] that [] whole might advance with equal security to the charge. One [] the wings [] given [] Cassius, [] other [] young Crassus, [] the general placed [] in []*

[] order they moved forward, till they [] river []

Balissus, which [] was not considerable, but [] sight of it gave pleasure [] soldiers, as [] account [] their [] and thirst, [] the fatigues of [] march through [] dry and sandy desert. [] of the officers [] of opinion that they ought [] pass the night there, and after having got [] best intelligence they could of the number of the enemy and their order, advance against him at [] of day. But Crassus, carried away by the eagerness of his son, and of the cavalry about him, who called upon him [] lead them [] the charge, commanded those who wanted refreshment [] take it as they stood in their ranks. Before they had all done, he began [] march, [] leisurely and with proper pauses, as [] necessary in going to battle, but with a quick and continued pace till they came [] sight of the enemy, who appeared neither so numerous nor [] formidable [] they had expected. For Surena had concealed his main force [] the advanced guard, and [] prevent [] their being discovered by the glittering of their armour, he had ordered them [] cover it with their coats or with skins.

When both armies were near enough to engage, and the generals had given [] signal, the field resounded with a horrid din and dreadful bellowing. For the [] do not excite their men to action with [] and trumpets, but with certain hollow instruments covered with leather, and surrounded with brass bells, which they beat continually. The sound is deep and dismal, something between the howling of wild beasts and the crashing of thunder; and it [] from sage reflection they had adopted it, having observed that of [] the senses, that of hearing [] disturbs the mind, agitates the passions, and unhinges the understanding.

While the Romans [] trembling [] the horrid noise, the Parthians suddenly uncovered their arms, and appeared like battalions of fire, with the gleam of their breastplates and their helmets of Margian steel polished to the greatest perfection. Their cavalry too, completely armed in brass and steel, shed a lustre [] less striking. *At the head of them appeared Surena, tall and well made; but his feminine beauty did not promise such courage [] he [] possessed of. For he was dressed in the fashion of the Medes, [] his face painted, and his hair curled and equally parted; while the rest of the Parthians [] their hair [] great disorder, like [] Scythians, to make themselves look more terrible.*

At first, [] barbarians intended to have charged with their pikes, and opened [] way through their foremost ranks; but when they [] the depth of the Roman battalions, the closeness of their order, and the firmness of their standing, they drew back, and, under the appearance of breaking their ranks and dispersing, wheeled about and surrounded the Romans. At that instant Crassus ordered his archers and light infantry [] begin the charge. [] they had [] gone far before they were saluted with [] shower [] arrows, which came with such force and [] so much execution, as drove them back upon the battalions. This was the beginning of disorder and consternation among the heavy-armed, when they beheld [] force and [] strength of the arrows, against which []

armour [] proof, and whose keenness nothing could resist. The Parthians now separated, and began to exercise their artillery upon the Romans on all sides at a considerable distance; [] needing [] take [] exact aim, by reason of the closeness and depth of the square in which their adversaries were drawn [] Their bows were large and strong, yet capable of bending till the [] [] drawn to the head; the force they went with was consequently very great and the wounds they gave mortal.

The Romans [] [] [] [] dreadful situation. If they stood still, they were pierced through; if they advanced, they could make no reprisals, and yet [] sure to meet their fate. For the Parthians shoot [] they fly; and this they do with dexterity inferior only to the Scythians. [] is indeed [] excellent expedient, because they [] themselves by retiring, and, by fighting all the while, escape the disgrace of flight.

While the Romans had any hopes that the Parthians would spend all their [] and quit the combat, or else advance hand to hand, they bore their distresses with patience. But [] [] [] it was perceived, that behind the enemy there [] a number of canals loaded with arrows, from whence the first ranks, after they emptied their quivers, [] supplied. Crassus, seeing no end to his sufferings, [] greatly distressed. The step he took was to send orders to his son to get up with the enemy, and charge them, if possible, before he was quite surrounded; for it was principally against him that one wing of the Parthian cavalry directed their efforts, in hopes of taking him in the rear. Upon this, the young man took 1,300 horse, of which those he had from Cæsar made 1,500 archers, and eight cohorts of infantry which [] next at hand, and wheeled about, to come [] the charge. However, the Parthians, whether it was that they were afraid to meet a detachment that came against them in such good order, which [] say was the case; [] whether they wanted to draw young Crassus as [] as they possibly could from his father, turned their backs and fled.¹ The young [] cried out, *They dared not stand us, and followed [] speed.* So did Censorinus and Megabacchus;² the latter a man noted for his strength and courage, and the former, a person of senatorial dignity, and an excellent orator. Both [] intimate friends of young Crassus, and nearly of his age.

The cavalry kept on, and such was the alacrity and spuit of hope with which [] infantry were inspired, that they were [] behind; for they imagined they were only pursuing a conquered enemy. But they had not [] far before they found how much they [] deceived. The pretended fugitives faced about, and, many others joining them, advanced [] the [] []

¹ It was their common method, not to [] a pitched battle [] troops that were in any degree their match. In retreating and advancing, as occasion required, they knew the advantage they had in the swiftness of their horses, and in the excellence of their archers.

² It is not easy to say what [] name Membarobus [] be the corruption of. Alexander tells us he found [] an old translation *Orei Planus*. Probably that translator might [] the authority of [] [] pt.

Romans, upon this, made a stand, supposing the enemy would close quarters with them, because their number was but small. The Parthians, however, only formed a line of their heavy-armed cavalry opposite their adversaries, and then ordered their irregulars to gallop round, and beat up the sand and dust in such a manner, that the Romans could scarce either see or speak for the clouds of it. Besides, the latter were drawn in so small a compass, and pressed so close upon each other, that they could not mark for the enemy. Their death too was lingering. They rolled about in agonies of pain with the arrows sticking in them, and before they could endeavour to pull out the barbed points which were entangled within their veins and sinews : an effort that served only to enlarge their wounds and add to their torture.

Many died in this miserable manner, and those who survived were not fit for action. When Publius (young Crassus) desired them to attack the heavy-armed cavalry, they showed him their hands nailed to their shields, and their feet fastened to the ground, so that they could neither fight nor fly. He therefore encouraged his cavalry, and advanced with great vigour to the charge. But the dispute was by no means upon an equality, either in respect of attack or defence. For his men had only weak and short javelins to attack the *Parthian cuirasses, which were made either of raw hides or steel*; while the enemy's strong pikes could easily make an impression upon the naked or light-armed Gauls. These were the troops in which he placed his chief confidence, and indeed he worked wonders with them. They held on the pikes of the barbarians, and grappling with them pulled them from their horses, and threw them on the ground, where they could scarce stir, by reason of the weight of their own armour. Many of them quitted their horses, and, getting under those of the Parthians, wounded them in the belly ; upon which the horses, mad with pain, plunged and threw their riders, and treading them under foot along with the enemy, at last fell down dead upon both. What went hardest against the Gauls was heat and thirst, for they had been accustomed to either. And they lost most of their horses by advancing furiously against the enemy's pikes.

They had no choice but to retire their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who was much wounded. But happening to a hill of sand by the way, they retired to it ; and having placed their horses in the middle, they locked their shields together all around, imagining that would prove the best defence against the barbarians. It happened, however, quite otherwise. While they were upon plain ground, the foremost rank afforded some shelter to those behind ; but upon an eminence, the front of the ground showed above another, and those behind higher than those before, so that there was no chance for any of them to escape ; they perished promiscuously, lamenting their inglorious fate, and the impossibility of exerting themselves to the last.

Young Crassus had with him two Greeks, named Hieronymus and Nicomachus, who had been in that country in the town of

Crassus ■ advised him to retire with them, ■ make his escape ■ Ischnæ, a city which ■ adopted the Roman interests, ■ at no great distance. ■ he answered, "*There was death, however dreadful, the fear of which could make him leave many brave ■ dying for his sake.*" At the ■ time he desired them ■ themselves, and then embraced and dismissed them. As his ■ hand ■ transfixed ■ arrow, and he could not ■ it, he offered his side to his armour-bearer, and ordered him to strike the blow. Censorinus is said to have died in the ■ manner. As for Alexander, he despatched himself with his own hand, and the other principal officers followed his example. The rest fell by the Parthian pikes, after they ■ defended themselves gallantly ■ the last. The enemy did ■ make above 500 prisoners.

When they had cut off the head of young Crassus, they marched with ■ father, whose affairs were in this posture. After he ■ ordered his ■ charge the Parthians, ■ brought him that they fled with great precipitation, and that the Romans pursued them with equal vivacity. He perceived also, that on ■ side the enemy's operations were comparatively feeble : for the greatest part of them were then gone after his son. Hereupon he recovered his spirits in some degree, and drew his forces back to some higher ground, expecting every ■ his son's return from the pursuit.

Publius Crassus had sent several messengers to inform him of his danger ; but the first ■ fallen in with the barbarians, and ■ cut in pieces ; and the last having escaped with great difficulty, told him his son ■ lost, if he had not large and immediate succours. Crassus was so distracted by different passions that he could not form any rational scheme. On the ■ hand he was afraid of sacrificing the whole army, and on the other, anxious for the preservation of his ■ ; but at last he resolved ■ march to his assistance.

Meantime the enemy advanced with loud shouts and songs of victory, which made them appear more terrible ; and all the drums bellowing again in the ears of the Romans, gave them notice of another engagement. The Parthians coming forward with the head of Publius Crassus, on ■ spear, demanded, in the ■ temptuous manner, whether they knew the family and parents of the young ■ "*For," said they, "it is not possible that so brave and gallant ■ youth should be the son of Crassus, the greatest dastard and the ■ wretch in the world."*

This spectacle broke the spirits of the Romans more than all the calamities they had ■ with. Instead of exciting them ■ revenge, as might have been expected, ■ produced ■ horror and ■ which ■ through the whole army. Nevertheless, Crassus, on ■ melancholy occasion, behaved with greater magnanimity than ■ had ■ shown before. He marched up and down the ranks, ■ cried, "Romans, this loss is mine. The fortunes and glory ■ Rome stand ■ and undiminished in you. If you have any pity for me, who am bereaved of ■ best of sons, show it in your resent-

■ against ■ enemy. Put an end to their triumph ; ■ their cruelty. ■ not astonished at this loss ; they ■ always have something ■ suffer who aspire ■ great things. Lucullus did ■ pull down Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, without some expense of blood. Our ancestors lost ■ thousand ships before they reduced Sicily, and many great officers and generals ■ Italy ; but ■ previous loss prevented their subduing the conquerors. *For it ■ not by her good fortune, but by the perseverance and fortitude with which she combated adversity that Rome has risen to her present height of power.*¹

Crassus, though he thus endeavoured ■ animate ■ troops, did ■ find many listen to him ■ pleasure. He ■ sensible their depression still continued, when he ordered them to shout for the battle ; for their shout ■ feeble, languid, and unequal, while that of the barbarians ■ bold and strong. When the attack began, the light-armed cavalry taking the Romans in flank, galled ■ with their ■ ; while the heavy-armed charging them ■ front with their pikes, drove them into an ■ space. Some, indeed, to avoid a ■ painful death from the arrows, advanced with the resolution of despair, but did not much execution. All the advantage they had was, that they were speedily despatched by the large wounds they received from the broad heads of the enemy's strong pikes, which they pushed with such violence, that they often pierced through two men at once.¹

The fight continued in this manner all day ; and when the barbarians ■ to retire, they said, "They would give Crassus one night to bewail his son ; if he did not in the meantime consider better, and rather choose to go and surrender himself to Arsaces, than be carried." Then they sat down near the Roman army, and passed the night in great satisfaction, hoping to finish ■ affair the next day.

It was a melancholy and dreadful night ■ the Romans. They took ■ ■ bury the dead, nor any notice of the wounded, many of whom ■ expiring in great agonies. Every ■ had his own ■ ■ deplore. That fate appeared inevitable, whether they remained where they were, ■ threw themselves in the night into that boundless plain. They found a great objection, too, against retiring, in the wounded ; who would ■ their flight, ■ they attempted to carry them off, and alarm the enemy with their cries, if they ■ left behind.

As for Crassus, though they believed him ■ cause of all their miseries, they wanted him to make his appearance and speak to them. But he had covered his head, chosen darkness for his companion, and stretched himself upon the ground. A sad example ■ the vulgar of the instability of fortune ; and to ■ of deeper thought, of the effects of rashness and ill placed ambition. Not contented with being the first and greatest among many ■ of

¹ There is nothing incredible in this, for it is frequently done by the Tartars in the same mode of fighting at this day.

considered himself in a light, because were him.

Octavius, of his lieutenants, and Cassius, endeavoured raise him from the ground and console him, but found that he gave himself entirely up to despair. They then, by their authority, summoned the centurions and other officers to a council of war, in it resolved they should retire. Accordingly they began so without sound of trumpet, and silently enough at first. when sick wounded perceived they going deserted, their doleful cries and lamentations confusion and disorder. Still greater them as they proceeded, foremost troops imagining that those behind enemies. They often missed their way, often stopped to put themselves in some order, to of the wounded off the beasts of burden, and put others. By these things they lost a great of time; insomuch that Ignatius only, who made best of way 300 horse, arrived at Carræ about midnight. saluted the guards Latin, and when he perceived they heard him, he bade them go and tell Coponius, commanded there, that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians. Then, without explaining himself farther, or acquainting them who he was, he made off as fast as possible to Zeugma; by which means saved himself and his troop; but, the time, much blamed for deserting general.

However, Crassus found his advantage in the hint given to Coponius. That officer, considering that the hurry confusion with which the message was delivered, betokened no good, ordered his men to arm, and soon as was apprized that Crassus marching that way, he out to meet him, and conducted army into the town.

Though the Parthians in the night perceived the flight of Romans, they did not pursue them; but break of day they upon those that left in the camp, and despatched them, to the number 4,000. The cavalry also picked up others who straggling upon the plain. One of the officers, named Varguntinus, who had wandered in night the main body with four cohorts, found next morning posted upon. The barbarians surrounded their little corps, and all, except twenty men. These made their way through the enemy sword in hand, who let them pass, and they arrived Carræ.

A rumour brought Surenæ, that Crassus the best of officers and troops escaped, and those who retired into Carræ, only a mixed multitude, worth notice. was afraid, therefore, he lost the fruits of victory; but being absolutely certain, wanted better information, in order to determine whether he should besiege Carræ, pursue Crassus, wherever he might have. For this purpose he despatched an interpreter to the walls, who all Crassus Latin, tell them that Surenæ demanded a conference. of interpreter

Crassus, accepted his proposal. And long after, certain Arabians arrived from the same quarter, who Crassus met Cassius well, having been at the Roman camp before battle. These seeing Cassius upon the walls, told him, "Surenas ready to conclude a peace with them, on condition they would be upon terms of friendship with his king his master, and give Mesopotamia; for he thought this advantageous than coming to extremities." Cassius embraced the overture, and that the time and place might be fixed for an interview with Surenas and Crassus; which the Arabians undertook for, and then

Surenas, delighted that the Romans were at a place where they might be besieged, led his Parthians against them the next day. The barbarians treated them with great insolence, and told them, if they wanted either peace or truce, they might deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound. The Romans, greatly finding themselves imposed upon, told Crassus they must give up distant and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, and resolve upon flight. This resolution ought to have been concealed from all the inhabitants of Carræ till the moment they put in execution. But Crassus revealed it to Andromachus, one of the most perfidious amongst them, whom he also chose for his guide. From this traitor the Parthians learned every step that was taken.

As it was not their custom, nor consequently very practicable for them to fight in the night, and it was in the night that Crassus marched out, Andromachus contrived that they might not be far behind. With this view he artfully led the Romans sometimes one way, sometimes another, and at last entangled them among deep marshes and ditches, where it was difficult to get either forward or backward. There were several who conjectured from this shifting and turning, that Andromachus had some ill design, and therefore refused to follow him any farther. As for Cassius he returned to Carræ; and when his guides, who were Arabians, advised him to wait till the moon had passed the Scorpion, he answered, "I am afraid of the Sagittary."¹ Then making the best of his way, he got into Assyria with 500 horse. Others finding faithful guides, reached the mountains of Sinnaca, and were perfectly secure, before it was light. These, about 5,000 in number, were under the conduct of Octavius, a man of great merit and honour.

Meantime day took Crassus, while, through the treachery of Andromachus, he was wandering on bogs and other impracticable ground. He had with him only four cohorts of infantry, a very few horse, and five lictors. His length was regained, his road much more difficult: by the time his enemy was coming up. He was above twelve furlongs behind the corps under Octavius. However, as he could not join him, he could

¹ Alluding to the Parthian archers.

retire to a hill, not so secure against cavalry as Sinnaca, but situated under those mountains, and connected with them by a long ridge which runs through the plain. Octavius, therefore, could see the danger Crassus was in, and he immediately ran down with a small band to his assistance. Upon this, the rest, reproaching themselves for staying behind, descended from the heights, and falling upon the Parthians, drove them from the hill. Then they took Crassus in the midst of them, and, holding him with their shields, boldly declared, that no Parthian should touch their general, while any of them were alive.

Surena now perceiving that the Parthians were so vigorous in their attacks, that if night came on, they would gain the mountains they would be entirely out of his reach, formed a stratagem to get Crassus into his hands. He dismissed some of his prisoners after they had heard the conversation of the Parthian soldiers, who had been instructed to say, that the king did not want perpetual friendship with the Romans, but had rather renew friendship and alliance by his generous treatment of Crassus. After this manœuvre, the barbarians withdrew from the combat, and Surena, with a few of his principal officers, advancing gently to the hill, where he unstrung his bow, and offering his hand, invited Crassus to an agreement. He said, "the king had hitherto, contrary to his inclinations, given proofs of his power, but now he would with pleasure show moderation and clemency, in coming to terms with the Romans, suffering them to depart in peace."

The troops received this proposal of Surena with joy. But Crassus, whose errors had all been owing to the Parthian treachery and deceit, and thought this sudden change in their behaviour a very suspicious circumstance, did not accept the overture, but stood deliberating. Hereupon, the soldiers raised a great outcry, and bade him go down. Then they proceeded to insults and reproaches, telling him, "He was very willing to surrender them the weapons of the Parthians, but did not dare to surrender them himself, when they lay down their arms, and wanted only a friendly conference."

At last he recourse to entreaties, and represented, that if they would but hold off the remainder of the day, they might at the night gain the mountains and rocks, which would be inaccessible to cavalry. At the same time he pointed to the way, and begged them not to forego the hopes of safety when they had it so near. But when he found they received his address with anger, and, clashing their arms in a menacing manner, he was terrified, and began to go; only turning round a few times to speak these words, "You, Octavius, and you, Petronius, and all you officers that are present, are witnesses of the necessity I am under to do this step, and conscious of the dishonour and violence I suffer. When you are safe, pray tell the world I was deceived by my enemy, and not that I was abandoned by my countrymen."

However, Octavius and Petronius would stay behind; they descended the hill with him. His too would have followed, but he sent back. The first persons that met him, on part of the barbarians, were Greeks of the half breed. They made Crassus a reverence, and addressing him in Greek, desired he would send some of his people to that Surena and his company came unarmed, without any weapons concealed about them. Crassus answered, "That his had any account with him, should have trusted himself his hands." Nevertheless, he sent his brothers of Roscius him, to inquire upon what footing, and many of each. Surena detained those messengers, and advanced in person with his principal officers on horseback. "What is this," he, "I behold? A Roman general on foot, when he is on horseback?" Then he brought for him. But Crassus answered, "There is no error on me, since each to after his country." Then said Surena, "From this moment there shall be peace and an alliance between Orodes and the Romans; but the treaty must be signed upon the of the Euphrates; for you Romans remember your agreements very ill." Then he offered him his hand; and when Crassus would have for a horse, he told him, "There is no need; the king would supply him with one." At that time a horse was brought with furniture of gold, and the equestrians having mounted, Crassus began to drive him forward. Octavius then laid on the bridle; in which he followed by Patronius, a legionary tribune. Afterwards the rest of the Romans who attended endeavoured to stop the horse, but draw off those who pressed upon Crassus on each side. A scuffle and tumult ensued, which ended in blows. Thereupon Octavius drew his sword, and killed one of the Parthian grooms; and another coming, Octavius despatched him. Petronius, who no arms to defend him, received a stroke on his breastplate, but leaped his horse unwounded. Crassus was killed by a Parthian named Pomaxethres: though another despatched him, and Pomaxethres cut his left and right hand. Indeed, these circumstances must be rather conjecture than knowledge. For part of those who attended were slain in attempting to Crassus, and the rest had run up the hill at first alarm.

After this, the Parthians went and addressed themselves to his troops at the top. They told them, Crassus had met with the reward his injustice deserved; but, as for them, Surena desired they would come down boldly, for they needed nothing. Upon promise they came down and surrendered themselves. They attempted to get off that night; but very few of those escaped. The rest were hunted by the Arabians, and either taken or put to

1 Appian calls him Mamethres, and in some copies of Plutarch he is called Axathres.

■ sword. It is said, that in all there ■■ 20,000 killed, and 10,000 made prisoners.

Surena ■■ head and ■■ to Orodes in Armenia ; notwithstanding which ■■ ordered his messengers to give ■■ Seleucia, that ■■ bringing Crassus alive. Pursuant ■■ report, ■■ prepared a kind of mock procession, which, by way of ridicule, ■■ called triumph. *Caius Pacianus, who of all the prisoners ■■ resembled Crassus, was dressed in a rich robe ■■ the Parthian fashion, and instructed ■■ answer to the name of Crassus ■■ of general. Thus accoutred, he marched ■■ horseback ■■ head of the Romans. Before him marched ■■ trumpets ■■ lictors, mounted upon camels. Upon the rods were suspended empty purses, and, on the axes, heads of the Romans newly cut off. Behind came the Seleucian courtesans with music, singing scurrilous and farcical songs upon the effeminacy and cowardice of Crassus.*

These things ■■ amuse the populace. But after ■■ farce was over, Surena assembled the senate of Seleucia, and produced the obscene books of Aristides, called *Milestacs*. Nor ■■ a groundless invention to blacken the Romans. For the books being really found in the baggage of Rustius,¹ gave Surena ■■ excellent opportunity ■■ say many sharp and satirical things of the Romans, who, even in the time of war, could not refrain from such libidinous actions and abominable books.

This ■■ put the Seleucians in mind of ■■ wise remark ■■ *Æsop*. They ■■ Surena ■■ put the Milesian obscenities in the forepart of the wallet, and behind they beheld ■■ Parthian Sybaris,² with a long train of carriages full of harlots : inasmuch that his army resembled the serpents called *scytale*. Fierce and formidable in its head, it presented nothing but pikes, artillery, and war horses ; while the tail ridiculously enough exhibited prostitutes, musical instruments, and nights spent ■■ singing and riot with those ■■ Rustius undoubtedly ■■ blame ; but it was an impudent thing in the Parthians to ■■ the *Milestacs*, when ■■ of the Arsacidæ who filled the throne ■■ of Milesian ■■ Ionian courtesans.

During these transactions, Orodes was reconciled ■■ Artavasdes the Armenian, and had agreed ■■ marriage between ■■ prince's sister and ■■ Pacorus. On ■■ occasion they freely ■■ each others' entertainments, in which many of the Greek tragedies were presented. For Orodes ■■ not unversed in ■■ Grecian literature ; and Artavasdes had written tragedies himself, ■■ well ■■ orations and histories, some of which ■■. In one of these entertainments, while they were yet at table, the head of Crassus ■■ brought ■■ the door. Jason, ■■ tragedian of ■■ city of Tralles, ■■ rehearsing the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, and ■■ tragical adventures of Pentheus and Agave. All the company ■■ pressing their admiration of the pieces, when ■■ entering ■■

¹ One of the *Psalter* manuscripts has it *Rustus*.

² Sybaris was a town in Lucania famous for its luxury and effeminacy.

prostrated himself before the king, and the the C his feet. The welcomed it acclamations joy, attendants, by king's order, placed Sillaces at the table. Hereupon, Jason gave one of the the habit of Pentheus, in which he had appeared, and putting the of Agave, frantic air and all the enthusiasm of a Bacchanal, sung that part, where Agave presents head of Pentheus her thyrsus, fancying it be that of a young lion—

to the repaid : On ponder pierced his lordly

Finding company extremely delighted, he went on—

The Chorus asks, "Who gave the glorious blow?"
Agave answers, "Mine, mine is the prize."

Pomaxæthres, who was sitting at the table, upon hearing this started up, and would have taken the head from Jason, insisting that that part belonged to him, and not to the actor. The king, highly diverted, made Pomaxæthres the presents usual such occasions, and rewarded Jason with a talent. The expedition Crassus was a tragedy, such was the *exordium*,¹ or farce after

However, the Divine Justice punished Orodes for his cruelty, and Surena for his perjury. Orodes, envying the glory Surena had acquired, put him to death soon after. And that prince, having lost his son Pacorus in a battle with the Romans, fell into a languishing disorder which turned to a dropsy. His second son Phraates took the opportunity to give him aconite. But finding the poison worked only upon the watery humour, and carrying off the disease with it, he took a shorter method, and strangled him with his hands.²

1 *Exordium*, in its original sense, signified the unravelling of the plot, the catastrophe of a tragedy; and it retained that sense among the Greeks. But when the Romans began to act their light satirical pieces (of which they had been very fond) after their tragedies, they applied the term to those pieces.

2 There were many satirical characters, but there is not, perhaps, in his history of more tempting than of Crassus. His ruling passion was the most sordid lust of wealth, and the whole of his conduct, political, popular, and military, was subservient to this. If at any time he gave into public magnificence, it was with him no more a species of commerce. By thus treating the people, he was laying out his money in the purchase of provinces. When Syria fell to his lot, the transports he discovered not from the great ambition of carrying the Roman eagles over the east; they were nothing more than the joy of a miser, when he stumbles upon a hidden

Damned with the prospect of barbarian gold, he grasped with eagerness a command for which he had no adequate capacity. We find him embarrassed by the slightest difficulties in his military operations, and, when his obstinacy would permit him, taking his measures from the advice of his lieutenant. We look with indignation on his squadrons standing, by his dispositions, as a mark for the Parthian archers, and incapable of acting either on the offensive or defensive. The Romans could not be ignorant of the Parthian method of attacking and retreating, when they had before spent so much time in Armenia. The fame of their cavalry could not be unknown in a country where it was so often dreaded. It was, therefore, the first business of the Roman general to avoid those operations which might give them any advantage in the equestrian action. But the hotness of eastern treasures made him a dupe to the policy of the barbarians, and to arrive at this the easiest way, he sacrificed the lives of 20,000 Romans.

POMPEY.

THE people of Rome appear, from the first, to have been affected towards Pompey, much in the same manner as Prometheus, in Æschylus, was towards Hercules, when after that he had delivered him from his chains, he says,

I hated, I love the son I love.

For never the Romans entertain a stronger more rancorous hatred for any general than for Sirabo, the father of Pompey. While he lived, indeed, they were afraid of his abilities as a soldier, for he had great talents for war; but upon his death, which happened by a stroke of lightning, they dragged his corpse to the bier, on the way to the funeral pile, and treated him with the greatest indignity. On the other hand, no Romans experienced from the Romans an attachment more early begun, more disinterested in all the stages of his prosperity, or more constant and faithful in the decline of his fortune, than Pompey.

The sole cause of their aversion to the father was his insatiable avarice; but there were many causes of their affection for the son; his temperate way of living, his application to martial exercises, his eloquent and persuasive address, his strict honour and fidelity, and the easiness of access to him upon all occasions; for no man was ever less importunate in asking favours, or more gracious in conferring them. When he gave, it was without arrogance; and when he received, it was with dignity.

In his youth he had a very engaging countenance, which spoke for him before he opened his lips. Yet that grace of aspect was unattended with dignity, and amidst his youthful bloom there was a venerable and princely air. His hair naturally curled a little before; which, together with his shining moisture and quickness of his eye, produced a stronger likeness of Alexander the Great than that which appeared in the features of that prince. He that seriously gave him the name of Alexander, and he refused it; others applied it to him by way of ridicule. And Lucius Philippus,² a man of consular dignity, one day pleading for him, said, "It was no wonder if Philip was a lover of Alexander."

We are told that Flora, the courtesan, took a pleasure, in her old age, in speaking of the commerce she had with Pompey; she used to say, she could never quit his embraces without giving

¹ In the tragedy of *Prometheus Bound*, from which this line is taken, we have only some fragments remaining. Jupiter had chained Prometheus to the rocks of Caucasus, Hercules, son of

² Lucius Murena Philippus, one of the greatest patrons of his time. He was father-in-law to Augustus, having married his mother Atia. Horace speaks of him, lib. 1. ep. 7.

one of Pompey's acquaintance, had a passion for her, and her much amenable to his solicitations. At last, she told him she could not consent on account of Pompey. Upon which he applied to Pompey for his permission, and he gave it him, never approached her afterwards, though he seemed to retain regard for her. He bore the loss of her, with the slight uneasiness of a prostitute, but was long troubled through grief and regret. It is said that Flora, so celebrated for her beauty and bloom when Cæcilius Metellus adorned the temple of Castor and Pollux with her paintings, he gave her picture a place among them.

Demetrius, one of Pompey's freedmen, who had great interest with him, and who was worth four thousand talents, was a wife of irresistible beauty. Pompey, on that account, behaved to her with less politeness than was natural to him, that he might not appear to be caught by her charms. He though he took measures with her much respect and caution in her respect, he could not escape the enmity of his enemies, who accused him of a commerce with married women, and said he often neglected, he gave up points essential to the public, to gratify his mistresses.

As to the simplicity of his diet, there is a remarkable saying of his upon record. In a great illness, when his appetite almost gone, the physician ordered him a thrush. His servants, upon inquiry, found there was not one to be had for money, for the season was past. They were informed, however, that Lucullus had them all the year in his menageries. This being reported to Pompey, he said, "Does Pompey's life depend upon the luxury of Lucullus?" Then, without any regard to the physician, he ate something that was easy to be had.

While he was very young, and served under his father, who was carrying on war against Cinna,¹ one Lucius Terentius was his comrade, and they slept in the same tent. This Terentius, gained by Cinna's money, undertook to assassinate Pompey, while others fired the general's tent. Pompey got information of this when he was awake, and did not put him in any confusion. He drank freely, he caressed Terentius more than usual; but when they were to have gone to rest, he stole out of the tent, and planted a guard about his father. This done, he waited quietly for the event. Terentius, as soon as he thought Pompey asleep, drew his sword, and stabbed his coverlets of the bed in many places, imagining that he was in it.

Immediately after this, there was a great mutiny in the camp. The soldiers who hated their general, were determined to strike him and began to strike their tents and take up their general, dread the tumult, dare not make his appearance. Pompey was everywhere; he begged them with

1 This was the year of Rome 698. And as Pompey was born the same year with Cæsar, viz., in the year of Rome 647, he

must, in this war with Cinna, have been young.

tears to stay, and at last threw himself upon [] [] the gateway. There [] lay weeping, and bidding them [] they would go out, tread upon him. Upon this, they were ashamed [] proceed, and all, except 800, returned and reconciled themselves [] their general.

After the death of Strabo, a charge [] [] converted the public money [] his own use, and Pompey, [] heir, was obliged [] [] Upon inquiry, he found that Alexander, [] of the enfranchised slaves, [] secreted [] of the money; [] took [] to inform the magistrates of the particulars. [] accused, however, himself, of having taken [] hunting-nets and hooks [] of the spoils of Asculum; and, [] [] father [] to [] when he took the place; but [] lost them [] [] of Cinna [] Rome, when that general's [] [] into [] pillaged [] house. In [] affair he maintained the combat well [] his adversary [] the bar, and showed an acuteness and firmness [] his years; which gained him so much [] that Antistius, the prætor, who had the hearing of the cause, [] coived an affection for him, and offered him his daughter [] marriage. The proposal accordingly [] made to his friends. Pompey accepted it; and the treaty [] concluded privately. The people, however had some notion of the thing from the pains which Antistius took for Pompey; and at last, when he pronounced the sentence, in the name of all the judges, by which Pompey [] acquitted, the multitude as it were, upon a signal given, broke out in the whole marriage acclamation of *Talasio*.

The origin of the term is said to have been this. When the principal Rom[] seized the daughters of the Sabines, who [] [] the games they were celebrating to entrap them, some herdsmen and shepherds laid [] of a virgin remarkably [] and handsome; and, [] she should be taken from them, [] they carried [] off, they cried all the way they [] *Talasio*. Talasius [] a young man, universally beloved and admired; therefore all who heard them, delighted with the intention, joined in the cry, and accompanied them with plaudits. They tell us, the marriage of Talasius proved fortunate, and thence all bridegrooms, by way of mirth, [] welcomed with that acclamation. This [] [] probable [] [] find of the term.

Pompey [] a [] time married Antistia, [] afterwards repaired [] Cinna's camp. [] finding [] unjust charges [] against him there, he took the [] private opportunity [] withdraw. As he [] nowhere [] he found, a rumour prevailed in the army, [] Cinna had put [] young man to death; [] which numbers who [] Cinna, and could [] longer bear with [] cruelties, attacked his quarters. [] fled for [] life; and being overtaken by one of [] officers, who pursued him with a drawn sword, he [] upon [] knees, and offered [] [] ring, which [] of no small value. The [] answered, with great ferocity, "I [] come [] sign a contract, but to punish an impious and lawless tyrant," and [] [] upon the spot.

end of Cinna : whom Carbo, a tyrant still more savage, took the reins of government. long, however, before Sylla returned to Italy, to the great satisfaction of of the Romans, who, their present unhappy circumstances, thought change of their no small advantage. *To such a desperate had calamities brought them, that no longer hoping for liberty, they sought only the most tolerable servitude.*

time Pompey was Picene, whither he had retired partly because had lands there, but on of an attachment the cities district his family. As he observes that the best and considerable of the citizens left their houses, and took refuge in Sylla's camp in a port, he resolved do the. At the same time he thought not become him like a fugitive who wanted protection, but rather in a respectable the of an army. therefore tried levies he could make in the Picene,¹ and the people readily repaired his standard ; rejecting the applications of Carbo. On this occasion, one Vindius happening to say, " Pompey just from under the hands of the pedagogue, and all on a sudden is become a demagogue among you," they were so provoked, that they upon him and cut him in pieces.

Thus Pompey, at the age of twenty-three, without a commission any superior authority, erected himself into a general ; and having placed his tribunal in the public part of the great city of Auximium, by a former decree commanded the Vedtini, two brothers who opposed him in behalf of Carbo, to depart the city. enlisted ; he appointed tribunes, centurions, and other officers, according the established custom. He did the same in all the neighbouring cities ; for the partisans of Carbo retired and gave place to him, and the rest were glad range themselves under his banners. So that in a little time he raised three complete legions, and furnished himself with provisions, beasts of burden, carriages ; in short, with the whole apparatus of

In this form he moved towards Sylla, by hasty marches, as if he wanted to conceal himself ; for he stopped by the way to harass the enemy, and attempted to draw off from Carbo all the parts of Italy through which passed. At last, three generals of the opposite party, Carinna, Cælius and Brutus, against him all once, front, or in one body, but they hemmed him in with their three armies, in hopes demolish him entirely.

Pompey, from being terrified, assembled all his forces, and charged the army of Brutus at of cavalry. The Gaulish horse the enemy's side sustained the first shock ; but Pompey attacked the foremost of them, who was of prodigious strength, and brought down with a push of his spear. The immediately and threw the infantry such disorder that whole soon put to flight. This produced great quarrel three generals, that they parted and took separate

¹ How the March of Ancus.

consequence of which, the cities, concluding that the fears of enemy had made them part, adopted the interest of Pompey.

Not long after, Scipio the consul advanced to engage him. Before the army was enough to discharge their lances, Scipio's soldiers saluted those of Pompey, and then them. Scipio, therefore, was forced to fly. At last Carbo with a large body of cavalry against Pompey, near the river Arsis. He gave them a reception, that they were soon broken, and in the pursuit drove them upon impracticable ground; so that finding it impossible to escape, they surrendered themselves with their men and horses.

Sylla was yet been informed of these transactions; but upon the first news of Pompey's being engaged with many adversaries, and such respectable generals, he dreaded the consequence, and marched to his assistance. Pompey, having intelligence of his approach, ordered his officers to see that his troops were armed and drawn up in such a manner as to make the handsomest and most gallant appearance before the commander-in-chief. For he expected great honours from him, and he obtained greater. Sylla was sooner saw Pompey advancing to meet him, with an army in excellent condition, both as to age and size of the men, and the spirits which success had given them, than he alighted; and upon being saluted of course by Pompey as *imperator*, he returned his salutation with the same title: though no one imagined that he would have honoured a young man, yet admitted into the senate, with a title for which he was contending with the Scipios and the Marii. The manner of his behaviour was as respectable as that in the first interview. He used to rise up and uncover his head, whenever Pompey came to him; which he rarely observed to do for any other, though he had a number of persons of distinction about him.

Pompey was not elated with these honours. On the contrary, when Sylla wanted to send him into Gaul, where Metellus had done nothing worthy of the forces under his directions, he said, "It is not right to take command from a man who is his superior both in age and character; but if Metellus should desire assistance in the conduct of the war, it was his service." Metellus accepted the proposal, and wrote to him to come; whereupon he entered Gaul, and he only signalised his valour and capacity, but excited the spirit of adventure in Metellus, which was almost extinguished with age: just as brass in a furnace of fire said to melt in cold plate rather than fire. But it is usual, when a champion has distinguished himself in the lists, to gain prize in the next to record or to take any notice of the performances of his younger years; so the actions of Pompey, in his period, though extraordinary in themselves, yet being eclipsed by the number and importance of his later expeditions, I shall forbear to mention, lest, by dwelling upon his first essays, I should not leave myself room for those greater and more critical actions which mark his character and turn of mind.

After Sylla had made himself master of Italy, he

dictator, [] rewarded his principal officers with [] honours ; making them liberal grants of whatever they applied for. [] he [] struck with the excellent qualities of Pompey, and [] persuaded [] he owed more [] his services than those of any other []. He therefore resolved, if possible, [] take [] into [] alliance ; and, [] wife Metella was perfectly [] his opinion, they persuaded Pompey to divorce Antistia, and to marry Æmilia, the daughter-in-law of Sylla, whom Metella had by Scaurus, and who [] that [] pregnant by another marriage.

Nothing could be more tyrannical than this [] contract. [] was suitable, indeed, [] the times of Sylla, but it ill became the character of Pompey [] take Æmilia, pregnant as she was, from another, and bring her into his house, and [] the [] time to repudiate Antistia, distressed [] she must be for [] father whom she [] [] lost, on account of this cruel husband. For Antistius was [] in the senate-house, because it [] thought [] regard for Pompey [] attached him to the [] of Sylla. And her mother, upon this divorce, laid violent [] upon herself. This [] an additional [] of misery in that tragical marriage ; as [] also the fate of Æmilia in Pompey's house, who died there in childbed.

Soon after this, Sylla received an account that Perpenna had made himself master of Sicily, where he afforded [] asylum to the party which [] the reigning powers. Carbo [] hovering with a fleet about that island ; Domitius [] entered Africa ; and many other persons of great distinction, who had escaped the fury of the proscriptions by flight, had taken refuge there. Pompey [] against them with a considerable armament. He soon forced Perpenna to quit the island ; and having recovered the cities, which [] been much harassed by the armies that [] there before him, he behaved [] them all with great humanity, except the Mamertines, who [] seated in Messina. That people [] refused [] appear before his tribunal, and to acknowledge [] jurisdiction, alleging, that they stood excused by an ancient privilege granted to them by the Romans. [] answered, "*Will you [] have done with citing laws and privileges to men who [] swords ?*" [] behaviour, too, to Carbo, in [] misfortunes, appeared inhuman. For, [] it was necessary, [] perhaps it was, [] put [] death, [] should have done it immediately, and then [] would have been [] work of [] that gave orders for it. But, instead of that, he caused a Roman, who had [] been honoured with three consulships, to be brought in chains before his tribunal, where he [] in judgment on him, to the regret of all the spectators, and [] him [] be [] off to execution. When they [] carrying him off, and he beheld [] sword drawn, [] [] much disordered [] it, that [] was forced [] beg a moment's respite, and a private place for the necessities of nature.

Caius Oppius,¹ the friend of Caesar, writes, [] Pompey like-

¹ The same who wrote an *Antiquity of the Spanish war*. He was also a *historian* ; but his works of that kind are []

He was mean enough to write a treatise to show that Caesar was not the son of []

Quintus Valerius inhumanity. For, knowing him to be a man of letters, and few were compared to him for point of knowledge, he set him aside, and after he had walked with him till he had convinced himself of several points of learning, commanded his attendants to take him to the block. But he was very cautious how he gave credit to Oppius, when he speaks of his friends and enemies of Cæsar. Pompey, indeed, was under the necessity of punishing the principal enemies of Sylla, particularly when they were taken publicly. But others suffered escape, and assisted in getting off.

He resolved to chastise the Himeræans for attempting to support his enemies, when the Athenian Sthenis told him, "He acted unjustly, if he passed by the person that was guilty, and punished the innocent." Pompey asked him, "Who was the guilty person?" and he answered, "I am the person." I persuaded my friends, and compelled my enemies, to take the measures they did." Pompey, delighted with his frank confession and noble spirit, forgave him first, and afterwards all the people of Himeræ. Being informed that his soldiers committed great disorders in their excursions, he sealed up their swords, and if any of them broke the seal, he took care to have them punished.

While he was making these and other regulations in Sicily, he received a decree of the senate, and letters from Sylla, in which he was commanded to cross over to Africa and to carry on the war with the utmost vigour, against Domitius, who had assembled a much more powerful army than that which Marius carried not long before from Africa to Italy, when he made himself master of Rome, and of a fugitive became a tyrant. Pompey soon finished his preparations for this expedition; and leaving the command in Sicily to Memmius, his sister's husband, he sailed with 120 armed vessels, and storeships, laden with provisions, arms, money, and machines of war. Part of his fleet landed at Utica, and part at Carthage: immediately after which 7,000 of his enemy came to meet him; and he had brought with him 10 legions complete.

On his arrival he was with a whimsical adventure. His soldiers, it seems, found a treasure, and shared considerable booty. The thing getting air, the rest of the troops concluded, that the place was full of money, which the Carthaginians had hid there in some time of public distress. Pompey, therefore, could make use of them several days, as they were searching for treasures; and he had nothing to do but walk about and show himself in sight of many thousands digging and turning up the ground. At last, they gave up the point, and bade him lead them wherever he pleased, for they were sufficiently punished for their folly.

Domitius advanced to meet him, and put his troops in order of battle. There happened to be a channel between them, which he was to pass. In the morning it began, moreover, to rain, and the wind blew violently; insomuch that Domitius, imagining there would be no action that day, ordered his army to retire.

Pompey looked upon this as his opportunity, and he passed on with the expedition. The enemy stood upon their defence, but it was in a very tumultuous manner, and their resistance they made was neither general nor uniform. Besides, the wind and rain beat on their faces. The incommodes the Romans too, for they could not well distinguish each other. Nay, Pompey himself was in danger of being killed by a soldier, who asked him the word, and received a speedy answer.—At length, however, he routed the enemy with great slaughter; above 3000 of them escaping out of twenty thousand. The soldiers then saluted Pompey *imperator*, but he said he would accept of no title while the enemy's camp stood untouched; therefore, they chose to confer such honour upon him, they first make themselves masters of the entrenchments.

At that instant they advanced with great fury against them. Pompey fought without his helmet, for fear of such an accident as he just escaped. The camp was taken, and Domitius slain; in consequence of which most of the cities immediately submitted, and the rest taken by assault. He took Jarbas, one of the confederates of Domitius, prisoner, and bestowed his crown on Hiempsal. Advancing with the same tide of fortune, and while his army had all the spirits inspired by success, he entered Numidia, in which he continued his march for several days, and subdued that came in his way. Thus he revived the terror of the Roman name, which the barbarians had begun to disregard. Nay, he chose not to leave the savage beasts in the deserts without giving them a specimen of the Roman valour and success. Accordingly he spent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. The whole time he passed in Africa, not above forty days; in which he defeated the enemy, reduced the whole country, and brought the affairs of its kings under proper regulations, though he was only in his twenty-fourth year.

Upon his return to Utica, he received letters from Sylla, in which he ordered him to send home the rest of his army, and to wait there with one legion only, for a short time. This gave him a great deal of uneasiness, which he kept to himself, but his army expressed their indignation aloud; insomuch that when he entreated them to Italy, they launched out into abusive terms against Sylla, and declared they would abandon Pompey, and him to trust a tyrant. At first he endeavoured to pacify them with mild representations: and when he saw those in effect, he descended from the tribunal, and retired to his tent in the camp. However, they followed him thence, and placed him again on the tribunal where they spent great part of the day; they insisting he should stay and keep the command, and in persuading them to obey Sylla's orders, and form no new faction. At last, seeing no end of their clamours and importunity, he assured them, with an oath, "That he himself, if they attempted to force him." And even this hardly brought them to desist.

The first news that Sylla heard of was, that Pompey had revolted,

When [] told [] he [] spirit of Pompey and cried, "Let [] triumph! [] triumph!"

As Pompey perceived a strong spirit of envy and jealousy on [] occasion, [] is said, that to mortify those [] the more, [] resolved to [] his chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought a [] from Africa, [] he [] taken from [] kings of that country. But finding the gate [] narrow, he gave up [] design, and contented himself with []

[] soldiers, [] having obtained all they expected, [] the procession; but he took [] pains [] satisfy them: [] said, " [] rather give up his triumph than submit [] flatter them." Whereupon Servilius, one of the [] considerable men in Rome, and one [] had been most vigorous in opposing the triumph, declared, "He now [] Pompey really [] Great, and worthy of a triumph."

There [] doubt that he might then have been easily admitted a senator, [] desired it; [] his [] to pursue honour [] a more [] track. It would have been nothing strange, if Pompey had been [] before the age fixed for it; but it [] very extraordinary instance of honour [] lead up [] before he [] a senator. And it contributed not a little to gain him the affections of [] multitude; the people [] delighted to [] him, after [] triumph, class with the equestrian order.

Sylla [] not without uneasiness [] finding him advance [] fast in reputation and power; yet [] could not think of preventing it, till, with a high hand, and entirely against his will, Pompey raised Lepidus¹ [] consulship, by assisting him with all his interest in the election. Then Sylla, seeing him conducted home by the people, through the *forum*, thus addressed him; "I see, young man, you [] proud of your victory. And undoubtedly [] was a great and extraordinary thing, by your management of the people, [] obtain for Lepidus, the []st man in Rome, the [] be- Catulus, one of the worthiest and the best. [] awake, I charge you, and be upon your guard. For you have now made your adversary stronger than yourself."

[] displeasure Sylla entertained in [] heart against Pompey appeared [] plainly by his will. He [] considerable legacies [] his friends, and appointed them guardians to his son, but he [] once mentioned Pompey. The latter, notwithstanding, bore [] temper and moderation; and when Lepidus [] others opposed [] being buried in the *Campus Martius*, and [] having [] honours of a public funeral, he interposed, and by his presence [] only secured, but [] honour to the procession.

Sylla's predictions were verified soon [] Lepidus wanted [] authority of a dictator; [] proceedings were not indirect, or veiled with specious pretences. He immedi-

¹ Marcus Annius Lepidus, who by Pompey's interest was declared consul

with Q. Lutatius Catulus, in the year of Rome 678.

ately took up arms, and assembled the ■■■■ remains ■ the factions which Sylla could ■ entirely suppress. As for his colleague Catulus, the uncorrupted part of the ■■■■ and people ■■ attached ■ him, and in point of prudence and justice, there ■■ a ■■■ in Rome who ■■ a greater character; but he ■ more able to direct ■■ civil government than the operations of ■■ This crisis, therefore, called ■ Pompey, and ■ did not deliberate which side ■■■■ take. ■■ joined the honest party, and ■■ declared general against Lepidus, who by this time had reduced great part of Italy, and ■■ master of Cisalpine Gaul, where Brutus acted for him with ■ considerable force.

When Pompey took the field, he easily made ■ way ■ other parts; but he lay a long time before Mutina, which was defended by Brutus. Meanwhile Lepidus advanced by hasty marches to Rome, and sitting down before it, demanded a second consulship. The inhabitants ■■■■ greatly alarmed at his numbers; but their fears ■■■■ dissipated by a letter from Pompey, in which ■■ assured them, he had terminated the war without striking a blow. For Brutus, whether he betrayed his army, or they betrayed him, ■■ rendered himself to Pompey; and having a party ■ horse given him as an escort, retired to a ■■ town upon the Po. Pompey, however, ■■ Geminius the next day to despatch him; which brought ■ small stain upon his character. Immediately after Brutus came over ■ him, he ■■ informed the senate by letter, it was a measure that general had voluntarily adopted; and yet on the morrow he put him to death, and wrote other letters, containing heavy charges against him. This was the father of that Brutus, who, together with Cassius, slew Cæsar. But the son did not resemble the father, either in war or in his death, ■■ appears from the life we have given of him. Lepidus, being ■■ driven out of Italy, ■■ into Sardinia, where he died of grief, ■■ in consequence of the ruin of his affairs, but of meeting with ■ billet (as ■■ are told,) by which ■■ discovered that his wife ■■ dishonoured his bed.

At that time, Sertorius, ■ officer very different from Lepidus, ■■ in possession of Spain, and ■■ a little formidable ■ Rome itself; ■ the remains of the civil wars being collected in him, just ■ in a dangerous disease all the vicious humours flow ■■ distempered part. ■■ had already defeated several generals of less distinction, and he ■■ then engaged with Metellus Pius, a man of great character in general, and particularly in ■■; but age seemed to have abated that vigour which is necessary for seizing and making ■■ best advantage of critical occasions. On the other hand, nothing could exceed the ardour and expedition with which Sertorius snatched those opportunities from him. He came ■ in the ■■ daring manner, and ■■ a captain of ■ handitti ■■ a commander of regular forces; annoying with ambuscades, and other unforeseen alarms, a champion who proceeded by the common rules, and whose ■■ lay ■■ management of heavy-armed forces.

■■■ juncture, Pompey, having an army without employment,

endeavoured to prevail with the senate to send the assistant Metellus. Meantime, he ordered him to disband his forces; but he found various pretences for remaining in the neighbourhood of Rome; and, last, upon the motion of Lucius Philippus, obtained the command he wanted. On this occasion of the senators, somewhat surprised at the motion, asked him if it, whether his meaning was to send out Pompey [*pro consule*] the representative of a consul? "No," said he, [*pro consulis*] the representative of both consuls; intimating by this the incapacity of the consuls of that year.

When Pompey arrived in Spain, new hopes excited, as usual upon the appearance of a new general of reputation; and such of the Spanish nation as were not very firmly attached to Sertorius, began to change their opinions, and to follow the Romans. Sertorius then expressed himself in a very insolent and contemptuous manner with respect to Pompey: he said, "He should want no other weapons than a rod and ferula to chastise the boy with; it was that he feared the old woman;" meaning Metellus. But in fact it was Pompey he was afraid of, and on his account he carried his operations with much greater caution. For Metellus gave into a course of luxury and pleasure, which no one could have expected, and changed the simplicity of a soldier's life for a life of pomp and parade. Hence Pompey gained additional honour and interest: for he cultivated plainness and frugality more than ever; though he had not, in that respect, much to boast in himself, being naturally sober and regular in his desires.

The war appeared in many forms; but nothing touched Pompey so nearly as the loss of Lauron, which Sertorius took before his eyes. Pompey thought he had blocked up the enemy, and spoke of it in high terms, suddenly he found himself surrounded, and being afraid to move, had the mortification to see the city laid in ashes in his presence. However, in an engagement near Valencia, he defeated Herennius and Perpenna, officers of considerable rank, who were taken part with Sertorius, and acted as his lieutenants, and killed above 10,000 of their men.

Elated with this advantage, he hastened to attack Sertorius, that Metellus might have a share in the victory. He found him on the river Sucro, and they engaged towards the close of day. Both were afraid Metellus should come up; Pompey wanting to fight alone, and Sertorius to have but one general to fight with. The issue of the battle was doubtful; one wing in each army being victorious. Of the two generals Sertorius gained the greatest honour, he routed the battalions that opposed him. As for Pompey, he was attacked on horseback by one of the enemy's infantry, of a great size. While they were close engaged with their swords, the strokes happened to light on each other's hand, but with different success; Pompey received only a slight wound, and he lopped off the other's hand. Numbers then fell upon Pompey, for his troops in that quarter were already broken; but he escaped beyond all expectation, by quitting his horse, with

gold trappings and other furniture, the barbarians, quarrelled and blows dividing the spoil.

Next morning, at break of day, both drew up again, give finishing stroke the victory, to which both laid claim. But, upon Metellus coming Sertorius retired, and army dispersed. Nothing more than for his forces disperse in that manner, and afterwards knit again; that Sertorius was often wandering alone, and as often advancing again head of 150,000 men, a swelled with sudden r

After the battle, Pompey was to wait on Metellus: and upon approaching him, he ordered his factors to lower the fasces, by way of compliment Metellus, as his superior. But Metellus would suffer it: and, indeed, in all respects he behaved to Pompey with great politeness, taking nothing upon him on of his consular dignity, or his being the older man, except give the word, when they encamped together. And very often they had separate camps; for the enemy, by his artful and various measures, by making his appearance different places almost at the instant, and by drawing them from one action another, obliged them divide. He cut off their provisions, he laid waste the country, he made himself master of the sea; the consequence of which was, that they both forced to quit their own provinces, and go into those of others for supplies.

Pompey having exhausted most of his fort in support of the war, applied to the senate for money pay the troops, declaring he would return with his army to Italy, if they did not send it to him. Lucullus, who was then consul, though he was upon ill terms with Pompey, took to furnish him with the money soon as possible; because he wanted to be employed himself in Mithridatic war, and he afraid to give Pompey a pretext to leave Sertorius, and solicit the command against Mithridates, which was a honourable, and yet appeared a less difficult commission.

Meantime Sertorius was assassinated by officers;¹ and Perpenna, who at the head of the conspirators, undertook supply his place. He had, indeed, the troops, the magazines and supplies, but he had not the understanding make a proper of them. Pompey immediately took the field, and having intelligence that Perpenna greatly embarrassed as the he should take, he threw out ten cohorts a bait him, with orders spread themselves the plain. When he found took, and that Perpenna was busied in the pursuit of that handful of men, he suddenly made appearance with the main body, attacked enemy, and routed entirely. Most of officers in the battle; Perpenna himself taken prisoner, and brought Pompey, who commanded him put death. Nevertheless, Pompey is not to accused of ingratitude, are (as some will have it) forgetful of services

¹ It was three years after the consulate of Lucullus, that Sertorius was assassinated.

received from that officer in Sicily. contrary, acted a wisdom and dignity of mind that proved very salutary to the public. Perpenna having got the papers of Sertorius into his hands, showed letters by which some of the powerful men of Rome, who were desirous to raise new commotions, and turn the establishment, had invited Sertorius into Italy. But Pompey fearing those letters might excite private war, he was then finishing, put Perpenna to death, and burned the papers without reading them. He stayed just long enough in Spain to compose his troubles, and to remove such uneasinesses might he to break peace; after which he marched back to Italy, where he arrived, his fortune would have it, when the Servile war was at its height.

Crassus, upon the arrival of Pompey, who, he feared, might snatch the laurels out of his hand, resolved to battle, however hazardous it might prove. He succeeded, and killed 12,300 of the slaves. Yet fortune, in some sort, interweaved this with the honours of Pompey; for he killed 5,000 of the slaves, whom he took in with them they fled after the battle. Immediately upon this, to be beforehand with Crassus, he wrote to the senate, "That Crassus had beaten the gladiators in a pitched battle, but that it was he who had cut up the slaves by the roots." The Romans took a pleasure in speaking of this one among another, on account of their regard for Pompey; which was such, that no part of the success in Spain, against Sertorius, was ascribed by a man of them, either in jest or earnest, to any but Pompey.

Yet these honours and high veneration for the man, were mixed with some fears and jealousies that he would not disband his army, but, treading in the steps of Sylla, raise himself by the sword to sovereign power, and maintain himself in it, as Sylla had done.¹ Hence, the number of those that went out of fear to meet him, and congratulate him on his return, was equal to that of those who went out of love. But when he had removed this suspicion, by declaring that he would dismiss his troops immediately after his triumph, there remained only one subject for envious tongues; which was, that he paid more attention to his army than to the senate; and whereas Sylla had destroyed the authority of the tribunes, he determined to re-establish it, in order to gain the affections of the people. This was true: for there was nothing they held so much as their hearts upon, they longed so extravagantly, to see the tribunitial power put in their hands again. Pompey looked upon it as his peculiar happiness, that he had an opportunity to bring that about; knowing,

¹ Cicero, in his epistles to Atticus, says, Pompey made but little secret of this justifiable ambition. The same is remarkable. "Our friend Pompey is wonderfully desirous of obtaining a power like that of Sylla; I tell you no more than I know, for he makes no secret of it."

again, "Pompey has been this infamous design these two years past; so strongly is he bent upon imitating Sylla, and proscribing like him." Hence we see how happy it was for Rome, that in the civil wars, Caesar, and not Pompey, proved the victor.

up, and [] Pompey to [] house, [] indulge [] multitude, who [] [] the loudest plaudits.

When the end of [] consulship approached, [] his [] with Crassus [] increasing daily, Caius Octavius Aurelius, [] man who was of [] equestrian order, but had never intermeddled with state affairs, [] day, when the people [] in [] assembly, [] the *rostra*, and said, "Jupiter [] appeared [] him in a dream, and commanded him to acquaint the consuls, that they [] take care [] be reconciled before they laid down their office." Pompey stood still, and [] [] peace; but Crassus [] and [] him [] [], and saluted him in [] friendly []. At [] time [] addressed the people, [] follows: "I think, my fellow-citizens, there is nothing dishonourable [] mean in making [] first advances [] Pompey, whom you scrupled [] [] dignify with the name of [] Great, when he [] yet but [] beardless youth, and for whom ye [] voted [] triumphs before [] was a senator." Thus reconciled, [] laid down the consulship.

Crassus continued his former manner of life; but Pompey *now seldom chose to plead the causes of those that applied to him, and by degrees he left the bar.* Indeed, he seldom appeared in public, and when he did, it was always with a great train of friends and attendants; so that it was not easy either to speak to him or [] him, but in the midst of a crowd. [] took pleasure [] having a number of retainers about him, because he thought it gave him an air of greatness and majesty, and he [] persuaded that dignity should be kept from being soiled by the familiarity, and indeed by the very touch of the many. For those who are raised to greatness by arms, and know not how to descend again to the equality required in a republic, [] very liable to fall into contempt when they resume the robe of peace. The soldier is desirous to preserve the rank in the *forum* which he had in the field; and he who [] distinguish himself in the field, thinks it intolerable [] give place in the administration too. When therefore the latter has got the man who shone in camps and triumphs into the assemblies at home, and [] him attempting to maintain the [] pre-eminence there, of [] he endeavours to humble him; whereas, if the warrior pretends not [] take the [] in domestic councils, he is readily allowed [] palm of military glory. This [] appeared from the [].

The power of [] pirates had its foundation in Cilicia. Their progress was [] more dangerous, because [] [] [] taken notice of. [] the Mithridatic [] they assumed new [] [] and courage, on account of [] services they had rendered [] king. After this, [] Romans being engaged in civil wars at [] very gates of their capital, the sea [] left unguarded, [] pirates by degrees attempted higher things: they [] only attacked ships, but islands, and maritime []. Many persons, distinguished for their wealth, their birth, and their capacity, were [] with them, [] [] in their depredations, as [] their employment [] [] worthy [] ambition of [] of honour.

They [] in various places arsenals, ports, and watch-towers, [] strongly fortified. Their fleets were not only extremely well manned, supplied with skilful pilots, and fitted for their business by their lightness and celerity ; *but there was a parade of vanity about [] more mortifying than their strength, [] gilded sterns, purple canopies, and plated oars ;* as if they took a pride and triumphed in their villany. Music resounded, and drunken revels [] exhibited [] every []. Here generals [] made prisoners ; there [] cities the pirates [] taken were paying their ransom ; all [] the great disgrace of the Roman power. The number of their galleys amounted [] 1,000, and [] cities they [] masters of [] four hundred.

Temples, which had stood inviolably sacred till that time, they plundered. They ruined the temple of Apollo [] Claros, that, where he was worshipped, under the title of Didymæus,¹ that of the [] in Samothrace, that of Ceres² [] Hermione, that of Æsculapius [] Epidaurus, those of Neptune in the Isthmus, [] Tænarus and in Calauria, those of Apollo at Actium and in the Isle of Leucas, those of Juno [] Samos, Argos, and the promontory of Lacinium.³

They likewise offered strange sacrifices, those of Olympos [] mean,⁴ and they celebrated certain secret mysteries, among which those of Mithra continue to this day,⁵ being originally instituted by them. *They not only insulted the Romans at sea, but infested the great roads, and plundered the villas near the coast :* they carried off Sextillus and Bellinus, two prætors, [] their purple robes, with all their servants and lictors. They seized the daughter of Antony, a man who had been honoured with a triumph, [] she was going [] her country house, and he was forced to pay a large [] for her.

But the most contemptuous circumstance of all was, that when they [] taken a prisoner, and he cried [] that he [] a Roman, [] told them [] name, they pretended [] be struck with terror, [] their thighs, and [] upon their knees to ask him pardon. The poor man, seeing them thus humble themselves before him, thought them in earnest, and [] he would forgive them ; for [] so officious [] to put [] his shoes, and others [] help him [] with his gown, that his quality might [] be mistaken. When they [] carried [] this farce, and enjoyed it for [] time, they

¹ So called from Didyme, [] [] series of Miletus.

² Pausanias (in *Laconicis*), tells us the Lacedæmonians worship Ceres under the name of Chthonia : and (in *Corinthiacis*), he gives us the reason of her having that name. "The Argives say, that Chthonia, the daughter of Colontia, having been saved out of a conflagration by Ceres, and conveyed to Hermione, built a temple to that goddess, who was worshipped [] under the name [] Chthonia."

⁴ The printed text gives us the erroneous

reading of *Lacinium*, but two manuscripts give us *Lavinia*. Livy [] [] *Juno Lavinia*.

⁵ Not on mount Olympus, [] the [] of Olympos, near Phaselis in Pamphylia, which was one of the receptacles of the pirates. What sort of sacrifices they used to offer there is [] known.

⁶ According to Herodotus, the Persians worshipped Venus under the name of Mithra, or Mithras ; but the sun is worshipped in [] country.

let a ladder down into the sea, and bade him go in peace ; and, if he refused to do it, they pushed him off the deck, and drowned him.

Their power extended [REDACTED] whole Tuscan sea, [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] trade [REDACTED] navigation entirely [REDACTED] The consequence of which was, [REDACTED] markets [REDACTED] supplied, [REDACTED] they had [REDACTED] [REDACTED] apprehend [REDACTED] famine. This, [REDACTED] last, put them upon sending Pompey [REDACTED] clear the [REDACTED] of pirates. Gabinius, [REDACTED] of Pompey's intimate friends, proposed [REDACTED] decree,¹ which created [REDACTED] [REDACTED] admiral, but monarch, and invested him [REDACTED] absolute power. The decree gave him the empire [REDACTED] the sea as far as [REDACTED] pillars [REDACTED] Hercules, and of the land for 400 furlongs from the coasts. There [REDACTED] few parts of the Roman empire which this commission [REDACTED] [REDACTED] take in ; and the [REDACTED] considerable of the barbarous [REDACTED] and most powerful kings, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] apprehended in it. Besides this, he [REDACTED] empowered [REDACTED] choose [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] fifteen lieutenants, to [REDACTED] under him, [REDACTED] such districts, and [REDACTED] such authority as he should appoint. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] take from the questors, and other public receivers, what money he pleased, and equip a fleet of 200 sail. The number of marine forces, of mariners and rowers, [REDACTED] left entirely [REDACTED] his discretion.

When [REDACTED] decree [REDACTED] read in the assembly, the people received it with inconceivable pleasure. The [REDACTED] respectable part of the senate saw, indeed, [REDACTED] such an absolute and unlimited power was [REDACTED] envy, but they considered it [REDACTED] a real object of fear. They therefore all, except Cæsar, opposed its passing into a law. He [REDACTED] for it, not out of regard for Pompey, but to insinuate himself into the good graces of the people, which he had long been courting. The rest were very [REDACTED] in their expressions against Pompey : and one of the consuls venturing [REDACTED] say,² " If he imitates Romulus, he [REDACTED] [REDACTED] escape his fate," [REDACTED] in danger of being pulled in pieces by the populace.

It [REDACTED] true, when Catulus rose up to speak against the law, out of reverence for his person they listened [REDACTED] him with great attention. After [REDACTED] had freely given Pompey the honour that [REDACTED] his due, and said much in [REDACTED] praise, he advised them [REDACTED] spare him, and [REDACTED] [REDACTED] expose such [REDACTED] [REDACTED] many dangers ; " for where will you find another," said he, " if you lose him ? " They answered with one voice, " Yourself." Finding his arguments had [REDACTED] effect, he retired. Then Roscius mounted the rostrum, but not [REDACTED] a man would give [REDACTED] [REDACTED] him. However [REDACTED] made signs to them with [REDACTED] fingers, [REDACTED] they should [REDACTED] appoint Pompey alone, but give him a colleague. Incensed at the proposal they set [REDACTED] such [REDACTED] a shout, that [REDACTED] a crowd, which [REDACTED] flying [REDACTED] [REDACTED] forum, was stunned with [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] it and [REDACTED] down among the crowd. Hence [REDACTED] may conclude, that

¹ This law was made in the year of Rome 684. The tribune, who proposed it, did not name Pompey. Pompey was [REDACTED] in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

His friend, Gabinius, as appears from Cæsar, was a man of infamous character.

² The consuls of this year were Calpurnius Pison, and Asinius C. Cælio.

when fall on such occasions, because the air so divided with the shock to a *vacuum*, but rather because the sound strikes them a blow, when it ascends with such force, produces so violent an agitation.

The assembly up that day, without coming any resolution. day that they were give their suffrages, Pompey retired into the country: and, receiving information that decree passed, he returned the city by night, to prevent the envy which the multitudes of people coming to meet would have excited. Next morning at break of day, he made his appearance, attended the sacrifice. After which he moned assembly, and obtained a grant of almost as much more first decree had given him. He empowered to fit 500 galleys, and raise army of 120,000 foot, and 5,000 horse. Twenty-four selected, who had all been generals prætors, and appointed his lieutenants; and he given him. As the price of provisions immediately, the people were greatly pleased, and it gave them occasion say, "The very name of Pompey had terminated the war."

However, in pursuance of charge he divided the whole Mediterranean into thirteen parts, appointing a lieutenant for each, and assigning him a squadron. By thus stationing his fleets in all quarters, he enclosed the pirates as it in a net, took great numbers of them, and brought them into harbour. Such of their as had dispersed and made off in time, or could escape the general chase, retired to Cilicia, so many bees into a hive. Against these he proposed go himself with sixty of his best galleys; but first he resolved clear the Tuscan sea, and the coasts of Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, of all piratical adventurers; which he effected in forty days, by his indefatigable endeavours and those of his lieutenants. But, tho consul Piso was indulging his malignity home, in wasting his and discharging his seamen, he his fleet round to Brundisium, and went himself by land through Tuscany to Rome.

As as people informed of his approach, they in crowds receive him, in the same they had done few days before, conduct him on his way. Their extraordinary joy owing the speed with which he executed mission, far beyond expectation, and to superabundant plenty which reigned in the markets. For this reason Piso danger of being deposed from consulship, and Gabinus had a ready drawn up for that purpose; but Pompey would not to propose it. On the contrary, his the people was full of candour and moderation; when he had provi-
 things as wanted, he went to Brundisium, and put sea again. Though straitened for time, and in sailed by many cities without calling, yet stopped Athens. He and to the gods; after which he people, and then prepared re-embark, immediately.

of the gate the inscriptions, each comprised in one line.

That within the gate was—

thyself a

That without—

which, we saw ; we loved and we admired.

Some of the pirates, who yet traversed the seas, made their submission ; and he treated them in a humane manner, when he had them and their ships in his power, others entertained hopes of mercy, and avoiding the other officers surrendered themselves to Pompey, together with their wives and children. He spared them all ; and principally by their that and took a number who guilty of unpardonable crimes, therefore had concealed themselves.

Still, however, there remained a greater number, and the powerful part of these corsairs, who their families, treasures, and useless hands, into castles and fortified upon Mount Taurus. Then they manned their ships, and waited for Pompey at Coracesium, in Cilicia. A battle ensued, and the pirates were defeated ; after which they retired into the fort. But they had not been long besieged before they capitulated, and surrendered themselves, together with the cities and islands which they had conquered and fortified and which by their works, as well as situation, were almost impregnable. Thus the war finished, and the whole force of the pirates destroyed, within three months.

Besides the other vessels, Pompey took ninety ships with beaks of brass ; and the prisoners amounted to 20,000. He did not choose to put them to death, and the same time thought it wrong to suffer them to disperse, because they not only warlike, but warlike and necessitous, and therefore would probably knit again and give future trouble. He reflected, that man by nature is neither a savage nor unsocial creature ; and when he becomes it is by vices contrary to nature ; yet even then he may be humanised by changing his place of abode, and accustoming him a of life : as beasts that naturally wild put off their fierceness, when they are kept in a domestic way. For this determined to the pirates a great distance from sea, and bring them the of civil life, by living in cities, and by the culture of ground. He placed some of them in the little town of Cilicia, which almost desolate, and received them with pleasure, because, the same time gave them an additional proportion lands. repaired the city of Soli,¹ which had lately been dismantled and deprived of its inhabitants by Tigranes, king of Armenia, and peopled with a number of these corsairs. The remainder, which a considerable body, planted in Dyma, a city of Achaia, which, though had a large and fruitful territory, was in want of inhabitants.

Such looked upon Pompey envy found

¹ He called it after his own name Pompeia

proceedings ; his conduct respect Metellus in Crete agreeable his best friends. This was a relation of that who commanded in conjunction with Pompey in Spain, and he had been into Crete some time before Pompey employed in this war. For Crete was the second nursery of pirates after Cilicia. Metellus had destroyed many nests of them there, and the remainder, who besieged by him time, addressed themselves Pompey suppliants, and invited him into the island, included in his commission, and falling within the distance he had a right to carry his arms from the He listened their application, and by letter enjoined Metellus no further steps in the war. At the time he ordered the cities of Crete not to obey Metellus, but Lucius Octavius, of his own lieutenants, whom he take the command.

Octavius in among the besieged, and fought on their side ; a circumstance which rendered Pompey only odious, but ridiculous. For what could be more absurd than to suffer himself to be blinded by his envy and jealousy of Metellus as to lend his and authority to a of profligate wretches, be used as a kind of amulet to defend them. Achilles not thought to behave like a man, but like a frantic youth carried by extravagant passion for fame, when made signs his troops not to touch Hector,

Let some strong arm snatch the glorious prize
Before Pollux.

But Pompey fought for the common enemies of mankind, in order deprive prætor, who was labouring to destroy them, of the honours of a triumph. Metellus, however, pursued his operations till he took the pirates, and put them death. As for Octavius, he exposed him in the camp as an object of contempt, and loaded him with reproaches, after which he dismissed him.

When brought to Rome, that the with pirates was finished, and that Pompey was bestowing his leisure upon visiting the cities, Manilius, of the tribunes of the people, proposed a decree, which gave him all the provinces and forces under command of Lucullus, adding likewise Bithynia, which then governed by Glabrio. It directed him to carry the against Mithridates and Tigranes ; for which purpose also to retain naval command. This subjecting the Roman empire to For the provinces which the former decree give him, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Upper Colchis, and Armenia, granted by this, together with all the forces, which, under Lucullus, had defeated Mithridates and Tigranes.

By this law Lucullus deprived of the honours dearly earned, and a person succeed him in his triumph, rather than in war ; but that was not the thing which affected Patricians. They were persuaded, indeed, that Lucullus injustice and ingratitude ; but it much painful circumstance, of a in hands of Pompey,

they could call nothing but a tyranny.¹ They therefore horted and encouraged each other to oppose law, and maintain liberty. Yet when the time came, their fear of the people prevailed, spoke on occasion but Catulus. He urged many arguments against the bill; and when he found they had no commons, he addressed himself to the senators, and upon many times from rostrum, "To seek mountain, their ancestors done, rock whither they might fly for the preservation of liberty."

told, however, that the bill passed by all the tribes,² and almost the same universal authority, conferred upon Pompey his absence, which Sylla did not gain but by the sword, by carrying into the bowels of his country. When Pompey letters which notified his high promotion, and his friends, who happened to be by, congratulated him on the occasion, he is said have knit his brows, smote his thigh, and expressed himself as if he was already overburdened and wearied with the weight of power.³

"Alas! is there no end of my conflicts? How much better would have been to be one of the undistinguished many, than be perpetually engaged in war? Shall I never be able to fly from envy to a rural retreat, to domestic happiness, and conjugal endearments?" Even his friends were unable to bear the dissimulation of this speech. They knew that the flame of his native ambition and lust of power blown up to a greater height by the difference he with Lucullus, and that he rejoiced more in the present preference, on that account.

His actions unmasked man. He caused public notice to given in all places within his commission, that the Roman troops repair him, as well as the kings and princes their allies. Wherever he went, he annulled the acts of Lucullus, remitting the fines he had imposed, and taking away the rewards he had given. In short, he omitted no means to show the partisans of that general that all authority was gone.

Lucullus, of course, complained of this; and their mon friends of opinion, that it would be best for them to an interview; accordingly they met in Galatia. As they had both given distinguished proofs of military merit, the lictors had twined the rods of each with laurel. Lucullus had marched through a country of flourishing groves, but Pompey's route dry and barren, without the or advantage of woods. His laurels, therefore, parched and withered; which of

1 "We have then got at last," said they, "a sovereign: the republic is changed into a monarchy: the services of Lucullus, the honour of Cæsar and Marcus, the zealous and worthy senators, are to be sacrificed to the promotion of Pompey. Sylla never carried his tyranny so far."

2 Two great men spoke in favour of the law, namely, Cicero and Cæsar. The former aimed at the consuls, which

Pompey's party could more easily procure him, than that of Catulus and the senate. As for Cæsar, he was delighted to see the people insensibly lose that republican spirit and love of liberty which might one day obstruct the vast designs he had already formed.

3 It is possible to read this without reflecting the sinister character of our Richard the Third!

Lucullus ■ sooner observed, than they freely supplied them with fresh ones, and crowned his *factus* ■ them. This seemed ■ be an omen that Pompey would bear away the honours and rewards of Lucullus's victories. Lucullus had been consul ■ Pompey, and ■ older man; but Pompey's two triumphs ■ him the advantage in point of dignity.

Their interview had at first the face of great politeness and civility. They began with mutual compliments and congratulations; but they ■ lost sight even of candour and moderation; they proceeded ■ abusive language; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with avarice, and Lucullus accusing Pompey of an insatiable lust of power; insomuch that their friends found it difficult to prevent violence. After this, Lucullus gave ■ friends and followers lands in Galatia, ■ conquered country, and made other considerable grants. But Pompey, who encamped ■ little distance from him, declared he would ■ suffer his orders to be carried into execution, and seduced all ■ soldiers, except 1,600, who, he knew, ■ so mutinous that they would be ■ unserviceable to him ■ they had been ill-affected to their old general. Nay, he scrupled not to disparage the conduct of Lucullus, and to represent his actions in a despicable light. "The battles of Lucullus," he said, "were only mock battles, and he had fought with nothing but the shadows of kings; but that it was left for *him* to contend with real strength and well disciplined armies; since Mithridates had betaken himself to swords and shields, and knew how ■ make proper use of his cavalry."

On the other hand, Lucullus defended himself by observing, "That it ■ nothing new ■ Pompey to fight with phantoms and shadows of war; for, like a dastardly bird, he had been accustomed to prey upon those whom he had not killed, and to tear the poor remains of ■ dying opposition." Thus he had arrogated ■ himself the conquest of Sertorius, of Lepidus, and Spartacus, which originally belonged ■ Metellus, to Catulus, and Crassus. Consequently, he did ■ wonder that he ■ to claim the honour of finishing the ■ of Armenia and Pontus, after he had thrust himself into the triumph over the fugitive slaves.

In a ■ time Lucullus departed for Rome; and Pompey, having secured ■ sea from Phœnicia to ■ Bosphorus, marched in quest of Mithridates, who had an army of 30,000 foot and 2,000 horse, but durst ■ stand an engagement. That prince was in possession of a strong and ■ post upon ■ mountain, which ■ quitted upon Pompey's approach, because ■ destitute of ■ P ■ encamped in the same place; and conjecturing, from the ■ of the plants and the crevices in ■ mountain, that springs might ■ found, he ordered a number of wells ■ dug, and the ■ in a short time plentifully supplied with water.¹ ■ was ■ a ■ surprised that this ■ not ■ to Mithridates during ■ whole ■ of ■ encampment there.

¹ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ had done the same thing long before in the Macedonian war.

After this, Pompey followed him to his camp, drew a line of circumvallation round him. Mithridates stood a siege of 45 days, after which he found means to steal off with his best troops, having first killed all the sick, such as could be of service. Pompey overtook him on the Euphrates, encamped against him; fearing he might pass the river unperceived, drew his troops at midnight. At that time Mithridates is said to have had a dream prefigurative of what was to befall him. He thought he was upon the Pontic coast, sailing with a favourable wind, in sight of the Bosphorus; so that he felicitated his friends in the ship, like a perfectly safe, and already a harbour. But suddenly he beheld himself in the most destitute condition, swimming upon a piece of wreck. While he was in the agitation which this dream produced, his friends told him Pompey was at hand. He was under a necessity of fighting for his camp, and his generals drew the forces with all possible expedition.

Pompey seeing them prepared, loath to risk a battle in the dark. He thought it sufficient to surround them, to prevent their flight, and what inclined him still more to wait for daylight, was the consideration that his troops were much better than the enemy's. However, the oldest of his officers entreated him to proceed immediately to the attack, and at last prevailed. It was not indeed very dark; for the moon, though near her setting, light enough to distinguish objects. But it was a great disadvantage to the king's troops that the moon was so low, and on the backs of the Romans; because she projected their shadows before them, that the enemy could form no just estimate of the distances, but thinking them at hand, threw their javelins before they could do the least execution.

The Romans, perceiving their mistake, advanced to charge with all the alarm of voices. The enemy in such consternation, they made not the least stand, and, in their flight, numbers were slain. They lost above 10,000 men, and their camp taken. As for Mithridates, he broke through the ranks with 800 horse, in the beginning of the engagement. That corps, however, did not follow him far before they dispersed, and left him with only three of his people; one of whom was his cubine Hypsicratia, of such a masculine and daring spirit, that the king used to call her Hypsicrates. She then rode a Persian horse, and dressed in a man's habit, in the fashion of that nation. She complained not in the least of the length of the march; and besides that fatigue, she waited on the king, and took care of his horse, till they reached the castle Inornæ, where the king's treasure, and his most valuable moveables were deposited. Mithridates took out thence many rich robes, be-

It seems from a passage in Strabo (B. xli.) that instead of *Peræ*, we should read *Sinoria*: for that was one of the

many fortresses Mithridates had built between the greater and the less Armenia.

stowed them ■ those who repaired ■ him after their flight. He furnished each of his friends, too, with ■ quantity of poison, that none of them, against their will, might come alive into the enemy's hands.

From Inora his design was to go to Tigranes in Armenia. But Tigranes had given up ■ cause, and ■ price of ■ less than ■ hundred talents upon his head. He therefore changed his route, and having passed the ■ of the Euphrates, directed his flight through Colchis.

■ the meantime, Pompey entered Armenia, upon ■ invitation of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father, and ■ gone to ■ the Roman general at the river Araxes. This river takes its rise ■ the ■ of ■ Euphrates, but bends its ■ eastward, and empties itself into the Caspian ■ Pompey and young Tigranes, in their march, received the homage of the cities through which they passed. As for Tigranes the father, he had been lately defeated by Lucullus; and now, being informed that Pompey was of a ■ and humane disposition, he received ■ Roman garrison into his capital; and taking his friends and relations with him, went ■ surrender himself. As he rode up to the entrenchments, two of Pompey's *lictors* came and ordered him ■ dismount, and enter on foot; assuring him that no ■ was ever seen on horseback in a Roman camp. Tigranes obeyed, and ■ took off his sword, and gave it them. As ■ as he came before Pompey, he pulled off his diadem, and attempted to lay it ■ his feet. What ■ still worse, he was going to prostrate himself, and embrace his knees. But Pompey preventing it, took him by the hand, and placed him on one side of him, ■ his ■ on the other. Then addressing himself to the father, he said, "As to what you had lost before, you lost it to Lucullus. It was he who took from you Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene. But what you kept till my time, I will restore you, on ■dition you pay the Romans a fine of six thousand talents for the injury you have done them. Your son I will make king of Sophene."

Tigranes thought himself so happy in these terms, and in finding that the Romans saluted him king, that in the joy of his heart he promised every private soldier half ■ mine, every centurion ■ *quinas*, and every tribune a talent. But his son ■ little pleased ■ the determination; and when he was invited ■ supper, he said, "He ■ need of such honours from Pompey; for he could find another Roman." Upon this, he ■ bound, and reserved in chains ■ triumph. ■ long after, Phraates, king of Parthia, ■ demand the young prince, ■ his son-in-law, and ■ propose that ■ Euphrates ■ be the boundary between ■ and the Roman empire. Pompey answered, "That Tigranes ■ certainly nearer to ■ father than his father-in-law; and as for ■ boundary, justice should direct it."

When he had despatched this affair, he left Afranius to take care of Armenia, and marched ■ to the countries bordering on Mount Caucasus, through which ■ must necessarily ■ in ■

of Mithridates. The [] Iberians are [] principal nations in those parts. The Iberian territories touch [] Moschian [] and the kingdom of Pontus ; the Albanians stretch [] to the east, and extend [] the Caspian sea. The Albanians at first granted Pompey a passage ; but as winter overtook him in their dominions, they took the opportunity of the *Saturnalia*, which [] Romans observe religiously, to assemble their forces [] the number of forty thousand men, with a resolution to attack them ; and for that purpose passed the Cynus.¹ The Cynus rises in [] Iberian mountains, and being joined [] its [] by the Araxes from Armenia, it discharges itself, by twelve mouths, into the Caspian [] Some say, the Araxes dis- [] into it,² but has a separate channel, and empties [] the []

Pompey suffered them [] pass the river, though it was in his power to have hindered it ; and when they were all got over, he [] and routed them, and killed great numbers on [] spot. Their kings [] ambassadors to beg for mercy ; upon which Pompey forgave him the violence he had offered, and entered into alliance with him. This done, he marched against the Iberians, who were equally numerous and more warlike, and who [] very desirous to signalise their zeal for Mithridates, by repulsing Pompey. The Iberians were never subject to the Medes or Persians ; they escaped even the Macedonian yoke, because Alexander was obliged to leave Hyrcania in haste. Pompey, however, defeated this people too, in a great battle, in which he killed [] less than 9,000, and took above 10,000 prisoners.

After this, he threw himself into Colchis ; and Servilius came and joined him at [] mouth of the Phasis, with the fleet appointed to guard the Euxine [] The pursuit of Mithridates was attended with great difficulties : for he had concealed himself among the nations settled about [] Bosphorus and the Palus Mæotis. Besides, news [] brought Pompey [] the Albanians [] revolted, and taken up [] again. The desire of revenge determined him [] march back, and chastise them. But it [] with infinite trouble and danger that he passed the Cynus again, the barbarians having fenced it on their side with pallisades all along the banks. And when [] over, he had a large country [] traverse, which afforded [] water. This last difficulty he provided against, by filling 10,000 bottles ; and, pursuing his march, he found the enemy drawn up on the banks of the river Abas,³ to the number of 60,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, but many of them ill-armed, and provided with nothing of the defensive [] skins of beasts.

They were commanded by [] king's brother, named Cosis ; who, at [] beginning of the battle, singled out Pompey, and, rushing in

¹ Strabo and Pliny call this river Cynus, and so Pintareh probably wrote it.

² This is Strabo's opinion, in which he is followed by modern geographers.

³ This river takes its rise in the mountains of Albania, and falls into the Caspian sea. Ptolemy calls it *Abascan*.

upon him, struck his javelin into the joints of his breastplate. P. then ran him through with his spear, and laid him dead on the spot. *It is said that the Amazons came to the assistance of the barbarians from the mountains near the river Thermodon, and fought in this battle.* The Romans, among the plunder of the field, did, indeed, find with bucklers in the form of a half-moon, and such as the Amazons wore; but there was not the body of a woman found the dead. They inhabit that part of Mount Caucasus which stretches towards the Hyrcanian Sea, and are not next neighbours to the Albanians,¹ for Gela and Leges lie between; but they that people, and spend two months with them every year on the banks of the Thermodon: after which they retire to their own country, though they live without the company of men.

After this action, Pompey designed to make his way to the Caspian Sea, and march by its shores into Hyrcania; but he found the number of serpents so troublesome, that he was forced to return, when three days' march would have carried him to the place he proposed. The route he took led into Armenia the Less, where he gave audience to ambassadors from the kings of the Elymans² and Medes, and dismissed them with letters expressive of his regard. Meantime the king of Parthia had entered Gordyene, and was doing infinite damage to the subjects of Tigranes. Against him Pompey sent Afranius, who put him to the rout, and pursued him as far as the province of Arbelis.

Among the concubines of Mithridates that were brought before Pompey, he touched on one, but sent them to their parents or husbands; for most of them were either daughters or wives of the great officers and principal persons of the kingdom. But Stratonice, who was the first favourite, and had the care of a fort where the greater part of the king's treasure was lodged, was the daughter of a poor old musician. She sung one evening to Mithridates, an entertainment, and he was so much pleased with her that he took her to his bed that night, and sent the old man home in no very good humour, because he had taken his daughter without condescending to speak a single word to him. But when he waked in the morning, he found tables covered with vessels of gold and silver, a great retinue of eunuchs and slaves who offered him choice of rich robes, and before his gate a horse with such magnificent furniture, as was provided for those who were called the king's friends. All this he thought nothing but an insult and burlesque upon him, and therefore prepared for flight; but the king stopped him, and assured him that the king had given him the house of a rich nobleman lately deceased, and that what he wanted was only the fruits—a small part of the fortune he intended

¹ The forces, according to Strabo, were numerous, but ill-disciplined. Their offensive weapons were darts and arrows, and their defensive armour was made of the skins of beasts.

² Strabo (lib. xvi.) places the Elymans

in that part of Assyria which borders upon Media, and mentions three provinces belonging to them, Gabiane, Mossabatie, and Cortiane. He adds, that they were powerful enough to refuse submission to the king of Parthia.

him. At [] [] to be persuaded [] scene was [] visionary ; he put on [] purple, [] mounted [] horse, and, as [] rode through the city, cried out, " All [] mine." The inhabitants, of course, laughed [] him ; and [] them, " They [] not [] surprised at [] behaviour [] his, [] rather wonder [] [] throw [] [] them."

[] such a glorious scene [] []

She [] Pompey the castle, and made him many magnificent presents ; however, he took nothing but what might be an [] solemnities of religion, and [] lustre [] triumph. [] he desired she would keep for her own enjoyment. In [] manner, when [] king [] Iberia [] him a bedstead, a table, and a throne, [] of [] gold, and begged of him to accept them as a mark of his regard, he bade the quaestors apply [] purposes of the public.

In [] castle of Cænon he found [] private papers of Mithridates ; and [] read them [] some pleasure, because they discovered that prince's real character. From these memoirs it appeared, that he had taken off many persons by poison, among whom were his own son Ariarathes and Alcimus of Sardis. [] pique against the latter took its rise merely from his having better horses for the [] than he. There were also interpretations, both of [] dreams and those of his wives ; and the lascivious letters which had passed between [] and Monime. Theophanes pretends to say, that there was found among those papers a memorial composed by Rutilius,¹ exhorting Mithridates to [] the Romans in Asia. But most people believe this was a malicious invention of Theophanes, to blacken Rutilius, whom probably he hated, because he was a perfect contrast to him ; or it might be invented by Pompey, whose father was represented [] Rutilius's Histories as one of the worst of men.

From Cænon, Pompey marched [] Amisus ; where [] insatiable ambition put him upon very obnoxious measures. [] censured Lucullus much for disposing of provinces [] a time when the [] was alive, and [] bestowing other considerable gifts and honours, [] conquerors used [] grant after their wars were absolutely terminated. And yet when Mithridates was [] the Bosphorus, and had assembled a very respectable army again, the [] Pompey [] the very [] had censured.—As [] [] whole, [] disposed of governments, [] distributed other rewards [] friends. On that occasion many princes and generals, [] them twelve barbarian kings, appeared before [] and to gratify those princes, when he wrote to the king of Parthia, [] refused [] give him the title of King of kings, by [] which he [] usually addressed.

¹ 1. Rutilius Rufus was consul in the year of Rome 643. Cicero gives him a [] [] was [] [] Asia, [] [] []

recalled him, he refused to return. He wrote a Roman history in Greek, which Appian made great use of.

passionately desirous Syria, and passing from thence through Arabia, to penetrate to the Sea, he might conquering every ocean which surrounds the world. *In Africa he was the first whose conquests extended to the Great Sea; Spain stretched the Roman dominions to the Atlantic; his pursuit of the Albanians, he wanted little of reaching the Hyrcanian Sea.* In order, therefore, to take the Red Sea into the circle of wars, he began his march; the rather, because it difficult to hunt Mithridates with a regular force, and that much harder to deal with in his flight than in battle. For this reason, he said, "I would leave him a stronger than the Romans cope with, which was famine." In pursuance of this intention, he ordered a number of ships to cruise about to prevent any vessels from entering the Bosphorus with provisions; and that death might punish for such taken in the attempt.

As was upon his march with the best part of his army, he the bodies of those Romans, who in the unfortunate battle between Triarius and Mithridates, still uninterred. He gave them honourable burial; and the omission of it to have contributed not a little the aversion the army had for Lucullus.

Proceeding in the execution of his plan, he subdued the Ambians about mount Amanus, by his lieutenant Afranius, and descended himself into Syria; which he converted into a Roman province, because it had a lawful king.¹ *He reduced Judea, and took its king Aristobulus prisoner.* He founded some cities, and set others free; punishing the tyrants who enslaved them. But most of his time spent in administering justice, and in deciding the disputes between cities and princes. When he could not himself, he his friends, the Armenians and Parthians, for instance, having referred the difference they about some territory, to his decision, he was three arbitrators to settle the affair. *His reputation as to power was great, and it was equally respectable in to virtue and moderation.* This was the thing which palliated his faults, and those of his ministers. He knew not how to restrain or punish offences of those he employed, but gave a gracious reception to those who came to complain of them, that they away ill satisfied with they from their avarice and oppression.

His favourite was Demetrius his enfranchised slave; a young man, who, in other respects, did not want understanding, but who made an use of his good fortune. They this story him. Cato the philosopher, then a young man, but already

¹ Pompey was by years Pompey's into 23 tribunes, and 150 killed in that battle; camp was taken.

² Pompey took the temple of Jerusalem, killing no less than 12,000 Jews in the He entered the temple, contrary

to their law, but had the not to touch any holy utensils, or the treasure belonging to it. Aristobulus presented him with a golden vine, valued at 600 talents, which he afterwards consecrated in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

celebrated for his virtue and greatness of mind, went to see Antioch, when Pompey was there. According to custom, he travelled on foot, but his friends accompanied him on horseback. When he approached the city, a great number of people before the gates, all white, and the way a troop of young men ranged on one side, of boys the other. This gave the philosopher pain; for he thought it a compliment intended him, which he did not want.—However, he ordered his friends to alight and walk with him. As they were near enough to be spoken with, the master of the ceremonies, with a crown on his head, and a staff of office in his hand, came up and asked them, "Where they had left Demetrius, when he might be expected?" Cato's companions laughed, but Cato only, "Alas, poor city!" so passed.

Indeed, others might better endure the insolence of Demetrius, because Pompey bore with it himself. Very often, when Pompey was waiting to receive company, Demetrius seated himself in a disrespectful manner at table, with a cup of liberty pulled down to his eye. Before his return to Italy he had purchased the pleasantest villas about Rome, with magnificent apartments for entertaining his friends, and some of the most elegant and expensive gardens known by his name. Yet Pompey himself was satisfied with an indifferent house till his third triumph. Afterwards he built that beautiful and celebrated theatre at Rome; and an appendage to it, built himself a house much handsomer than the former, but not ostentatiously great; for he who came to be master of it after him, at first was surprised, and asked, "Where was the room in which Pompey the Great used to sup?"

The king of Arabia Petraea hitherto considered the Romans in no formidable light, but he was really afraid of Pompey, and sent letters to acquaint him that he was ready to obey all his commands. Pompey, to try the sincerity of his professions, marched against Petraea. Many blamed this expedition, looking upon it as a better pretext than he excused pursuing Mithridates, against whom they would have had him turn, against an ancient enemy of Rome; and an enemy who, according to all accounts, had so recovered his strength as to propose marching through Scythia and Pæonia into Italy. On the other hand, Pompey was of opinion that it was much easier to ruin him when at the head of an army, than to take him in his flight, and therefore would himself pursue, but rather chose to wait for an emergency, and, in the meantime, to turn his back to another quarter.

Fortune resolved the doubt. He had advanced to Petraea, and encamped that day, and was taking exercise on horseback without trenches, when messengers arrived from Pontus; and *was plain they brought good news, because points of their spears crowned laurel.* His soldiers seeing this, gathered about Pompey, who was then at exercise before he opened the packet; but they were so impatient in their treaties, that they prevailed upon him to alight and read it.

entered the camp with it in his hand ; and as there was no tribunal ready, and the soldiers were impatient to raise a pile of turf, which was a common method, they piled a number of pack-saddles one upon another, upon which Pompey mounted, and gave the following information; *Mithridates is dead.* He killed himself upon the revolt of his son Pharnaces. And Pharnaces has seized all that belonged to his father ; which he declares he has done himself and the Romans.

Pompey's army, might be expected, was a loose to their joy, which they expressed in sacrifices to the gods, and in reciprocal entertainments, if 10,000 of their enemies had been in Mithridates. Pompey having thus brought the campaign and the whole to a conclusion happy and beyond his hopes, immediately quitted Arabia, traversed the provinces between that and Galatia with great rapidity, and arrived at Amisus. There he found many presents from Pharnaces, and several corpses of the royal family, among which was that of Mithridates. The face of that prince could not be easily known, because the embalmers had not taken out the brain, and by the corruption of that the features were disfigured. Yet those that were curious to examine it distinguished it by the scars. As for Pompey, he would not see the body, but to propitiate the avenging deity (Nemesis) sent it to Sinope. However, he looked upon and admired the magnificence of his habit, and the size and beauty of his arms. The scabbard of the sword, which cost 400 talents, was stolen by Publius, who sold it to Ariarathes. And Caius, the foster brother of Mithridates, took the diadem, which was of exquisite workmanship, and gave it privately to Faustus, the son of Sylla, who had begged it of him. This escaped the knowledge of Pompey, but Pharnaces, discovering it afterwards, punished the persons guilty of the theft.

Pompey having thoroughly settled the affairs of Asia, proceeded in his return to Rome with pomp and solemnity. When he arrived at Mitylene, he declared it a free city, in the name of Theophanes, who was born there. He was present at the anniversary exercises of the poets, whose sole subject that year was the death of Pompey. And he was so much pleased with their theatre, that he took a plan of it, with a design to build one at Rome, but greater and more noble. When he came to Rhodes, he attended the declamations of all the Sophists, and presented each of them with a talent. Posidonius committed his discourse to writing, which he made against the position of Hermagoras, another professor of rhetoric concerning Invention in general.¹ Pompey behaved with equal munificence to the philosophers

¹ Hermagoras was for reducing invention under two general heads, the reasons of the process, and the state of the question ;

such as his master Posidonius. V. Ciceron, de Invent. Rhetor. lib. 1.

This Posidonius, who was of Apamea, is not to be confounded with Posidonius of Alexandria, the disciple of Zeno.

at Athens, [] the people 50 talents for [] repair [] city.

He hoped to return to Italy the great [] and happiest of [] and that his family would meet his affection with equal ardour. [] deity whose care it is always [] mix [] portion of evil with the highest and [] splendid [] of fortune, had been long preparing him a sad welcome in his house. Mucia,¹ in [] absence, had dishonoured his bed. While he was at a distance, he disregarded the report, but upon his approach to Italy, and a more [] examination into the affair, he [] her a divorce [] assigning his [] either then or afterwards. The [] to [] to [] in Cicero's epistles.

People [] variously at Rome concerning Pompey's intentions. Many disturbed themselves at [] thought [] he would march with [] army immediately to Rome, and make himself sole and absolute [] there. Crassus took his children [] money, and withdrew ; whether it [] that he [] some real apprehensions, or rather that he chose [] countenance the calumny, and add force to the sting of envy ; the latter [] the [] probable. But Pompey had no [] foot in Italy, than he called [] assembly of his soldiers, and, after a kind and suitable address, ordered them to disperse [] their respective cities, and attend to their [] affairs till his triumph, on which occasion they were to repair to him again.

As [] it [] known that his troops were disbanded, an astonishing change appeared [] the [] of things. The [] seeing Pompey the Great unarmed, [] attended by a few friends, as if he [] returning only from a common tour, poured out their inhabitants after him, who conducted him to Rome with the sincerest pleasure, and with a much greater force than that which he had dismissed ; so that there would have been no need of the army, if [] had formed any designs against the []

As [] law did not permit [] to enter the city before his triumph, he desired the senate to defer the election of consuls on his account, th[] he might by his presence support the interest of Piso. [] Cato opposed it, [] the motion miscarried. Pompey, admiring [] liberty and firmness with which Cato maintained the rights and [] of his country, [] a time when [] other man would [] openly for them, determined [] gain him [] possible ; and [] Cato had two nieces, he offered to marry [] one, and asked the other for his son. Cato, however, suspected [] bait, and looked upon the proposed alliance as a [] intended [] corrupt his integrity. [] therefore refused it, [] the great regret of [] wife [] sister, who could not but [] displeased [] his rejecting such advances from Pompey the Great. Meantime Pompey

¹ Mucia was sister to Metellus Celer, and to Metellus Nepos. [] de- [] ed by Caesar ; for which reason, when Pompey married Caesar's daughter, all the world blamed him for turning off a wife by whom he had three children, to espouse the daughter of a man whom he

had often with a sigh, called his Agasthus. Mucia's disloyalty must have been very [] since Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, says, the divorce of Mucia meets with general approbation. Lib. i. ep. xii.

being desirous to get consulship from Afranius, money that purpose among tribes, and receive in Pompey's own gardens. The thing was public that *Pompey was much censured for making that office, which obtained by his great actions, and opening a way to the highest honour state to those had money, but wanted merit.* Cato observed the of his family, that they all shared in this disgrace, if they had accepted Pompey's alliance; upon which they acknowledged a judge than they of honour and propriety.

triumph great, that though it divided days, the time far from being sufficient for displaying what prepared to be carried procession; remained enough to adorn another triumph. At the head of the appeared the titles of conquered nations; Pontus, Armenia, Capadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchia, the Iberians, the Albanians, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Palestine, Judea, Arabia, the pirates subdued by sea and land. In countries, mentioned that there less than 1,000 castles, and near 900 cities taken; 800 galleys taken from the pirates; and 39 desolate cities repeopled. On the face of the tablets it appeared besides, that whereas the revenues of the Roman empire before these conquests amounted but to 50 millions of drachmas, by the acquisitions they advanced to 85 millions: and the Pompey brought into the public treasury in money, and in gold and silver vessels, to the value of 20,000 talents, what he had distributed among the soldiers, of whom that received least had 1,500 drachmas to his share. The captives who walked in the procession (not to mention the chiefs of the pirates) were the of Tigranes, king of Armenia, together with his wife and daughter; Zosima, wife of Tigranes himself; *Aristobulus, king of Judea*; sister of Mithridates, with her; and Scythian. The hostages of the Albanians and Iberians, and of the king of Commagene also appeared in the train: and many trophies were exhibited Pompey had gained victories, either in person by Lieutenants, the number of which not small.

But the honourable circumstance, what other Roman could boast, that *his third triumph* *third quarter of the world, after his former triumphs had been over the other two.* Others before him been honoured with three triumphs; but first triumph was Africa, second Europe, and third over Asia; that three seemed to declare him of the world.

Those who desire the parallel between Alexander agree in all respects, us was at time thirty-four, whereas, fact, he entering upon his fortieth year.¹

¹ From the forty-sixth year. Pompey was born in the beginning of August, in the year of Rome 647, and his tri-

umph was in the year of Rome 682.

Happy ■ had ■ for him, if he had ended ■ days while he ■ blessed with Alexander's good fortune! The rest of his life, every instance ■ success brought its proportion of envy, and every miscarriage ■ irretrievable. *For the authority which ■ gained by his merit he employed for others ■ way ■ very honourable; and his reputation consequently sinking, ■ they grew in strength, he was insensibly ruined by the weight of his own power.* As it happens in a siege, every strong work that is taken adds ■ besieger's force; ■ Caesar, when raised by the influence of Pompey, turned that power, which enabled ■ trample upon ■ country, upon Pompey himself.

Lucullus, who had been treated ■ unworthily by Pompey in Asia, upon his return to Rome ■ with the ■ honourable reception from the ■; and they gave him still greater marks of their ■ after the arrival of Pompey; endeavouring ■ awake his ambition, and prevail with him ■ attempt ■ lead in the administration. But his spirit and active powers ■ by ■ time on the decline; he had given himself up to the pleasures of ease and the enjoyments of wealth. However, he bore up against Pompey with some vigour at first, and got his acts confirmed, which his adversary had annulled; having a majority in the senate through the assistance of Cato.

Pompey, thus worsted in the senate, had recourse to the tribunes of the people and ■ the young plebeians. Clodius, the ■ daring and profligate of them all, received him with open arms, but ■ the ■ time subjected him to all the humours of the populace. He made him dangle after him in the *forum* in a ■ far beneath ■ dignity, and insisted upon his supporting every bill that he proposed, and every speech that he made, ■ flatter and ingratiate himself with the people. And, ■ if the connection with him had been an honour instead of ■ disgrace, he demanded still higher wages; that Pompey should give up Cicero, who had ■ been his fast friend, and of the greatest ■ to him ■ the administration. And these wages ■ obtained. For when Cicero ■ ■ in danger, and requested Pompey's assistance, he refused ■ him, and shutting his gates against those ■ ■ intercede for him, went out ■ ■ back door. Cicero, therefore, dreading ■ issue of the trial, departed privately from Ro-

At ■ time Caesar, returning from his province,¹ undertook ■ affair, which rendered him very popular ■ present, and ■ its ■ sequences gained him power, but proved ■ great prejudice ■ Pompey and to the whole commonwealth. He ■ then soliciting ■ first consulship, and Crassus and Pompey being ■ variance, he perceived that if he should join the one, the other would ■ enemy of course; ■ therefore set himself ■ reconcile them. ■

■ was not at the time ■ Cicero's going into ex- ■ that Caesar returned from his province in Spain, which he had governed with the title of *procurator*, but two

years before. Caesar returned in the year of Rome 682, and Cicero quitted Rome in the year 685.

thing ■ seemed honourable ■ itself, and calculated ■ public good ■ intention was insidious, though deep laid and ■ with ■ policy. For while the power of the ■ divided, ■ kept it ■ an equilibrium, ■ the burden of a ship properly ■ keeps it from inclining ■ side ■ another, ■ when the power came to ■ all collected into one part, having nothing ■ counterbalance it, it overset and destroyed ■ Hence it was, that when ■ observing that ■ constitution ■ ruined by the difference which happened afterwards between Cæsar and Pompey, Cato said, "You ■ under ■ great mistake : it ■ not their late disagreement, but their former union and connection which gave the constitution the ■ and greatest blow."

To this union Cæsar owed ■ consulship. And ■ sooner appointed than he began to make his court to ■ indigent part of the people, by proposing laws for sending out colonies, and for the distribution of lands ; by which he descended from the dignity of a consul, and in some sort took upon him ■ of a tribune. His colleague Bibulus opposed him, and Cato prepared ■ support Bibulus ■ the most strenuous manner ; when Cæsar placed Pompey by him upon the tribunal, and asked him, before the whole assembly, "Whether he approved his laws?" and upon ■ answering ■ the affirmative, he put this farther question, "Then if any ■ shall with violence oppose these laws, will you come to the assistance of the people?" Pompey answered, "I will certainly come ; and against those ■ threaten to take the sword, I will bring both sword and buckler."

Pompey till that day had never said anything so obnoxious ; and his friends could only say, by way of apology, that it was an expression which had escaped ■ It appeared by the subsequent ■, that he was then entirely ■ Cæsar's devotion. For within ■ few days, to the surprise of all the world, he married Julia, Cæsar's daughter, who had been promised ■ Cæpio, and was upon the point of being married to him. To appease the resentment of Cæpio, ■ gave him ■ own daughter, who had ■ before ■ married to Faustus, the son of Sylla ; and Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso.

Pompey then filled the city with soldiers, ■ carried everything with open force. Upon Bibulus ■ consul's making ■ appearance in the forum together with Lucullus ■ Cato, ■ soldiers suddenly fell ■ him, and broke his fasces. Nay, one of ■ had the impudence to empty ■ basket of dung upon ■ of Bibulus ; and ■ tribunes of the people, who accompanied him, were wounded. The forum ■ cleared of ■ opposition, ■ law passed for the division of lands. ■ people, caught by this bait, ■ and tractable in all respects, ■ without questioning the expediency of any of ■ measures, silently ■ their suffrages ■ whatever ■ proposed. The ■ of Pompey, which Lucullus had ■, were confirmed ; ■ two Gauls on ■ and ■ other side the Alps ■ Illyria, were ■

for five years, with four complete legions. At the same time Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, and Gabinus, one of his abandoned flatterers of Pompey, were pitched upon for consuls for the ensuing year.

Bibulus, finding himself thus carried, gave up in his house, for the eight following months remained inattentive to the functions of his office; contenting himself with publishing manifestoes of bitter invectives against Pompey and Cæsar. Cato, on this occasion, as if inspired with a spirit of prophecy, announced the full senate the calamities which would befall the commonwealth and Pompey. Lucullus, on his part, gave up his thoughts of public affairs, and betook himself to repose, as he was disqualified him for the concerns of government. Upon which Pompey observed, "That it was unseasonable for an old man to give himself up to luxury than to bear a public government." Yet, notwithstanding this observation, he suffered himself to be effeminated by the love of a young woman; he spent his days with her; he spent his day with her in the walks and gardens, to the entire neglect of public affairs; insomuch that Clodius the tribune began to despise him, and engage in the boldest designs against him. For he had banished Cicero, and sent Cato to Cyprus under pretence of giving him the command in that island; when Cæsar was gone upon his expedition into Gaul, and the tribune found the people entirely devoted to him, because he flattered their inclinations in all the measures he took, he attempted to annul some of Pompey's ordinances; he took his prisoner Tigranes from him, kept him in his own custody, and impeached some of his friends, in order to try in them the strength of Pompey's interest. At last, when Pompey appeared against some of these prosecutions, Clodius, having a crew of profligate and insolent wretches about him, ascended his eminence, and put the following questions, "Who is the licentious lord of Rome? Who is the man that seeks for a man? Who scratches his finger?" And his creatures, like a chorus instructed in their part, upon his shaking his gown, answered aloud every question, *Pompey*.⁴

These things increased Pompey's uneasiness because it was a new thing to him to be spoken ill of, and he was entirely inexperienced in that of Rome. That which afflicted him most, was perceiving that the Romans were pleased to see him the object

¹ Hence the wits of Rome, instead of saying, that a thing happened in the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, said, it happened in the consulship of Julius and Cæsar.

² This is the Greek proverb. *Zēgrew andrew* was a proverbial expression brought from Athens to Rome. It was taken originally from Æsop's seeking an honest man with a lantern at noonday; by degrees it came to signify the character, or

how Pompey was allowed to have sustained in the time of Julius.

³ *Una superbia dignitas* was likewise a proverbial expression for a Roman patrician's dignity.

⁴ Plutarch does not here keep exactly to the order of time. This happened in the year of Rome 687, as appears from Dio (Book xxxix.), that is, two years after what he is going to mention concerning Pompey's being with a sword.

reproach, ■■ punished for his desertion of Cicero. But when parties ran so high that they came ■ blows in the *forum*, ■■ several were wounded ■ ■■ sides, and ■■ of the servants of Clodius ■■ observed ■ creep in among the crowd, towards Pompey, with a drawn sword in his hand, he was furnished with ■ excuse for ■ attending ■ public assemblies. Besides, ■ was really afraid to stand the impudence of Clodius, ■■ all ■■ of abuse that might be expected from him, and therefore made ■ appearance no ■■ during his tribuneship, ■■ consulted in private with ■■ friends how to disarm the anger ■ the ■■ and the valuable part of the citizens. Culeo advised ■■ to ■ pudiate Julia, ■■ to exchange the friendship of Cæsar for that ■ the ■■ ; but he would not hearken to the proposal. Others proposed that he should recall Cicero, who was ■■ only ■ avowed ■■ to Clodius, but the favourite ■■ senate ; and he agreed ■ that ■■ Accordingly, with ■ strong body of ■■ retainers, he conducted Cicero's brother into the *forum*, who ■■ ■■ apply to the people in ■■ behalf, and after a scuffle, in which several ■■ wounded, and ■■ slain, he ■■ empowered Clodius, and obtained a decree for the restoration of Cicero. Immediately ■■ his return the orator reconciled the senate to Pompey, and by effectually recommending the law which was to intrust him with the care of supplying Rome with corn,¹ he made Pompey once more master of the Roman empire, both by ■■ and land. For by this law the ports, the markets, the disposal of provisions, in a word, the whole business of the merchant ■■ the husbandman, were brought under his jurisdiction.

Clodius, on the other hand, alleged, "That the law was ■■ made ■■ account of the real scarcity of provisions, but that ■■ artificial scarcity ■■ caused for the sake of procuring the law, and that Pompey, by ■■ commission, might bring his power to ■■ again, which ■■ sunk, as it were, in a *deliquitum*." Others say, it ■■ the contrivance of the consul Spinther, ■■ procure Pompey ■ superior employment, that he might himself ■■ ■■ re-establish Ptolemy in his kingdom.²

However ■■ tribune Canidius brought him ■ bill, the purport of which was, that Pompey should ■■ without an ■■ and with only ■■ *licitors*, to reconcile ■■ Alexandrians ■■ their king. Pompey ■■ appear displeased at the bill ; but the senate threw ■ out, under ■■ ■■ pretence of not hazarding his person. Nevertheless, papers ■■ found scattered in the *forum* and before ■■ senate-house, importing ■■ Ptolemy himself desired that Pompey might be employed ■■ for him instead of Spinther. Timagenes pretends, ■■ Ptolemy left Egypt without any necessity, ■■ the persuasion of Theophanes, who was desirous ■■ ■■ Pompey new occasions to enrich himself ■■ the honour of ■■ commands.

¹ The law also gave Pompey ■■ preeminent authority for five years, ■■ ■■ out of Italy. Dc, lib. xxxix.

² Ptolemy Auletes, the son of Ptolemy Lathyrus, hated by his subjects, and

forced to fly, applied to the ■■ Spinther, who has to have the pr. ■■ of ■■ to re-establish him in ■■ kingdom. Dio, xlii. supra.

the baseness of Theophanes does much support story, disposition of Pompey discredits; was nothing mean illiberal in ambition.

The whole care of providing and importing being committed Pompey, his deputies and agents into various parts, and in person into Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, where he collected great quantities. When he was upon the point of re-embarking, a violent wind sprung up, and the mariners made difficulty of putting sea; was the first to go on board, and he ordered weigh anchor, with these decisive words, "It is necessary to go; it necessary live." His answerable spirit and intrepidity. He the markets with corn, and covered sea with ships; insomuch that the overplus afforded supply foreigners, and from Rome, from a fountain, plenty flowed the world.

In the meantime the in Gaul lifted Cæsar the sphere of greatness. The of action was a great distance from Rome, and he seemed be wholly engaged with the Belgæ, Suevi, and the Britons; but his genius all the while privately work among the people of Rome, and he undermining Pompey in his essential interests. His with the barbarians was his principal object. exercised his army, indeed, in those expeditions, he would have done his body, in hunting and other diversions of the; by which he prepared them for higher conflicts, and rendered them not only formidable but invincible.

The gold and silver, and other rich spoils which he took from the enemy in great abundance, he to Rome; and by distributing them freely among the ædiles, prætors, consuls, and their wives, he gained a great party. Consequently when he passed the Alps and wintered at Lucca, among the crowd of men and women, hastened to their respects him, there senators, Pompey and Crassus of the number; and there no fewer than pro-consuls and prætors, whose *fascæ* to at the gates of Cæsar. He made it his business in general to give them hopes of great things, and his money their devotion; but he entered into a treaty with Crassus and Pompey, by which agreed they should apply for the consulship, and that Cæsar should assist them, by sending a great number of at the election. As soon as they chosen, they share provinces, and take the command of armies, according their pleasure, only confirming Cæsar in the possession what had, for years more.

As soon as this treaty got air, the principal persons in Rome highly offended at it. Marcellinus, then consul, planted himself amidst the people, and asked Pompey and Crassus, "Whether they intended for the consulship?" Pompey spoke first, and said,¹ "Perhaps might, perhaps might" Crassus

¹ Dio makes him return an answer more in his character—"It is not of

moderation, "He should do what might be expedient for the commonwealth." As Marcellinus continued the discourse against Pompey, he seemed to bear hard upon him, Pompey said, "Where is the honour of that man, who has neither gratitude nor respect to him who made him an orator, who rescued him from want, and raised him to affluence?"

Others declined soliciting the consulship, but Lucius Domitius was persuaded and encouraged by Cato to give it up. "For the dispute," he told him, "is not for the consulship, but for defence of liberty, against tyrants." Pompey and his adherents were the vigour with which Cato acted, and that all was on his side. Consequently they were afraid that, if supported, he might bring down the corrupted part of the people. They resolved, therefore, not to suffer Domitius to enter the forum, and a party of well armed men, who killed Melitus, torch-bearer, and put the rest to flight. Cato retired the last, not till after he had received a wound in his right elbow in defending Domitius.

Thus they obtained the consulship by violence, and their measures were not conducted with moderation. For, in the first place, the people were going to choose Cato prætor, at the instant their suffrages were to be taken, Pompey dismissed the assembly, pretending he had seen an inauspicious flight of birds.¹ Afterwards the tribes, corrupted with money, declared Antius and Vatinius prætors. Then, in pursuance of their agreement with Cæsar, they put Trebonius one of the tribunes, proposing a decree, by which the government of the Gauls continued for five years to Cæsar; Syria, and the command against the Parthians, given to Crassus; and Pompey to have all Africa, and both the Spains, with four legions, two of which he lent to Cæsar, his request, for the war in Gaul.

Crassus, upon the expiration of his consulship, repaired to his province. Pompey, remaining at Rome, opened his theatre; and, to make the dedication magnificent, exhibited a variety of gymnastic games, entertainments of music, and battles with wild beasts, in which he killed 500 lions; but the battle of elephants afforded the most astonishing spectacle.² These things gained him the love and admiration of the public; but he incurred their displeasure again, by leaving his provinces and armies entirely to his friends and lieutenants, and roving about Italy with his wife

account of the virtuous and the good that I desire any share in the magistracy, but that I may be able to restrain the ill-disposed and the vicious."

¹ This was making religion merely an engine of state, and it often proved a very convenient one for the purposes of ambition. Clodius, though otherwise one of the vilest tribunes that ever existed, very right in what, ting to a story, that means his dismissing his army. He preferred a bill, to magistrates

he went while the people were assembled.

² Dio says, the elephants fought with armed men. There were no less than 12 of them; and he adds, that some of them seemed to appeal, with piteous cries, to the people; who, in compassion, saved their lives. It is very probable, however, that an oath had been taken before they left Africa, that no injury should be done them.

one villa another. Whether it was his passion for her, or hers for him, that kept him so close with her, is uncertain. For the latter has been supposed to be the case, and nothing more than the fondness of that young woman for her husband, though that his person was hardly any great object of desire. The charm of his fidelity was the cause, together with his conversation, which, notwithstanding his natural gravity, was particularly agreeable to the women, if we may allow the example of Flora to be sufficient evidence. This strong attachment of Julia appeared on the occasion of an election of censors. The people gave blows, and even killed Pompey that he was covered with blood, forced to change his clothes. There was a great crowd and tumult about his door, when he went home with his bloody robe; and Julia, who was with child, happening to see it, fled away, and with difficulty recovered. However, such was the agitation of her spirits, that she miscarried. After this, those who complained of Pompey's connection with Cæsar could not fault with his love of Julia. She was pregnant afterwards, and brought a daughter, but unfortunately died in childbed; nor did the child long survive her. Pompey was preparing to bury her near a seat of his at Alba, but the people seized the corpse, and interred it in the *Campus Martius*. They did more out of regard to the young woman, than either to Pompey or Cæsar; yet in the honours they did her remains, their attachment to Cæsar, though at a distance, had a greater share, than any respect for Pompey, who was on the spot.

Immediately after Julia's death, the people of Rome were in great agitation, and there was nothing in their speeches and actions which did not tend to a rupture. The alliance, which rather covered than restrained the ambition of the two great competitors for power, was now more. To add to the misfortune, news was brought soon after that Crassus was slain by the Parthians; and in him another great obstacle to a civil war was removed. Out of fear of him, they both kept their distance with each other. But when fortune carried off the champion who could take up with the conqueror, they may be said to have met with a comic poet,

—High spirit of corpses
Shakes each shroud; they all their bony limbs,
And dip their heads in dust.—

But fortune will fill the capacities of the human mind; when such a weight of power, and such a command, could satisfy the ambition of two men. They had heard and read that the gods had divided the universe into three shares,¹ and each was

¹ Plutarch alludes here to a passage in the fifteenth book of the *Iliad*, where Neptune says to Iris, "Assign'd by triple rule we know; Infernal Pluto sways the shades below; O'er the wide clouds and o'er the starry plain,"

Æthereal Jove extends his high domain;
My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,
And hush the roarings of the sacred deep."

with which to lot, and yet these could think the Roman empire sufficient for two of them.

Yet Pompey, in an address to the people that time, told them, "He had received every commission they had honoured him with, sooner than he expected himself; laid it down sooner than was expected by the world." And, indeed, the dismissal of his troops always bore witness to the truth of that assertion. But now, being persuaded Caesar would march his army, he deavoured to fortify himself against him by great employments at home; this without attempting any other innovation. For he would not distrust him; the contrary, rather affected to despise him. However, when he saw the great state not disposed of agreeably to his desire, but that the people influenced, and his adversaries preferred money, he thought to serve and suffer anarchy to prevail. *In consequence of the reigning disorders, a dictator was much of.* Lucilius, one of the tribunes, was first who ventured to propose in form to the people, and he exhorted them to choose Pompey dictator. Cato opposed it so effectually that the tribune was in danger of being deposed. Many of Pompey's friends then stood in defence of the purity of his intentions, and declared, he neither asked nor wished for dictatorship. Cato, this, paid the highest compliments to Pompey, and entreated him to in the support of order and of the constitution. Pompey could not but accede to such a proposal, and Domitius and M. were elected consuls.¹

The anarchy and confusion afterwards took place again, and numbers began to talk more boldly of setting up a dictator. Cato, fearing he should be overborne, was of opinion it were better to give Pompey some office whose authority was limited by law, to intrust him with absolute power. Bibulus, though Pompey's declared enemy, moved the senate, that he be appointed consul. "For by such means," said he, "the commonwealth either grows from her disorder, or, if she serve, will be a man of the greatest merit." The whole house was surprised at this motion; and when Cato rose up, it was expected he would oppose it. A profound silence ensued, and he said, "He should never have been the first to propose such an expedient, but as it was proposed by another, he thought it advisable to embrace it: for he thought any kind of government better than anarchy, and knew no man fitter to rule than Pompey in a time of so much trouble." The senate came into his opinion, and a decree was issued, that Pompey should be appointed sole consul, and that if he should have need of a colleague, he might choose

¹ In the year of Rome 700. Such corruption now prevailed among the Romans that candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly to the place of election, where they distributed it, without blushing, among the heads of

factions; and those who received it employed force and violence in favour of those persons who paid them; so that scarce any office was disposed of but what had been disputed with the sword, and cost the lives of many citizens.

one himself, provided it was not before his expiration of months.

Pompey being declared *interrex* by *Interrex* Sulpitius, made him compliments. Cato, acknowledged himself much support, and desired his assistance and advice in the cabinet, which he pursued in his administration. Cato answered, "That Pompey was under the least obligation to him; for what he had said was out of regard to him, but to his country. If you apply to me," continued he, "I shall give you my advice in private; if not, I shall inform you of my sentiments in public." Such was Cato, and the same to all.

Pompey went into the city, and married Cornelia, daughter of Metellus Scipio.¹ She was a virgin, but a widow, having been married, when very young, to Publius the son of Crassus, who was lately in the Parthian expedition. *This woman had many charms besides her beauty. She was well versed in polite literature: she played upon the lyre, and understood geometry; and she made considerable improvements by precepts of philosophy. It is more, she had nothing of that petulance and affectation which such studies are apt to produce of her age. And her father's family and reputation were unexceptionable.*

Many, however, were displeased with this match, on account of the disproportion of years; they thought Cornelia would have been more suitable to his son than to him. Those that were capable of deeper reflection thought of the concerns of the commonwealth neglected, which in a distressful situation had chosen him for its physician, and confided in him alone. *It grieved them to see him crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice amidst the festivities of marriage, when he ought to have considered his consulship as a public calamity, since it would never have been given him in a manner so contrary to the laws, had his country been in a prosperous situation.*

He then stepped in to bring those to order who gained offices and employments by bribery and corruption, and made laws by which the proceedings in their trials were to be regulated. In other respects he behaved with great dignity and honour; and restored security, order, and tranquillity, to the courts of judicature, by presiding there in person with a band of soldiers. When Scipio, his father-in-law, was impeached, he went for the 360 judges to his house, and desired their assistance. The accuser, seeing Scipio conducted out of the forum to his house, by the judges themselves, dropped the prosecution. This again censured Pompey; but he was censured still more, when after having made an accusation against encomiums on Scipio, accused, he broke himself, by appearing for Plancus, and attempting to impeach him. Cato, who happened to be one of the judges, stopped

¹ The son of Scipio Nasica, but adopted into the family of the Metelli.

ears; declaring, "It was not right for such embellishments, contrary law." Cato, therefore, was objected and aside before sentence passed. Plancus, however, was condemned by the other judges, to the great confusion of Pompey.¹

A few days after, Hypsæus, a man of consular dignity, being under a criminal prosecution, watched Pompey going from the bath supper, embraced his knees in the suppliant manner. Pompey passed with disdain, and all the answer he gave was, "That his importunities served only to spoil his supper." This partial and unequal behaviour was justly the object of reproach. But the rest of his conduct merited praise, and he had happiness to re-establish good order in the commonwealth. He took his father-in-law for his colleague the remaining months, his governments continued to him for four years more, he was allowed a thousand talents a year for his subsistence and pay of his troops.

Cæsar's friends laid hold on this occasion to represent that some consideration should be had of him too, and his many great and laborious services for his country. They said, he certainly deserved either another consulship, or to have the term of his mission prolonged; that he might keep the command in the provinces he had conquered, and enjoy, undisturbed, the honour he had won, and that no successor might rob him of the fruit of his labours or the glory of his actions. A dispute arising upon the affair, Pompey, if inclined to fence against the odium to which Cæsar might be exposed by demand, said, he had letters from Cæsar, in which he declared himself willing to accept a successor, and to give up the command in Gaul; only he thought it reasonable that he should be permitted, though absent, to stand for the consulship.² Cato opposed this with all his force, and insisted, "That Cæsar should lay down his arms, and return private man, if he any favour ask of his country." And Pompey did not pursue the point, but easily acquiesced, it was suspected that he had no real friendship for Cæsar. This appeared clearly, when he sent for the two legions which he had lent him, under pretence of wanting them for the Parthian war. Cæsar, though he well knew for what purpose the legions were demanded, sent them home laden with rich presents.

After this, Pompey fell a dangerous illness at Naples, from which however, he recovered. Praxagoras then advised the Neapolitans to offer sacrifices to the gods, in gratitude for his recovery. The neighbouring cities followed their example; and the humour spreading itself over Italy, a town or village solemnised every occasion with festivals. No

¹ Clodius, who was the impeach-
ment, was much delighted with the success
of his eloquence, as appears from his
epistle to Marcius, lib. vii. ep. 2.

² There was a law against any alien's

person's being elected a candidate; but
Pompey inserted a clause which em-
powered the people to exempt any man
from personal attendance.

place afford room for the crowds that came in from the quarters to meet him; the high roads, the villages, the ports were filled with entertainments. Many received him with garlands on their heads and torches in their hands, and they conducted him on his way, strewed it with flowers. His returning with such pomp afforded a glorious spectacle. He said he have been one of the principal actors of civil war. For the joy conceived on this occasion, added to his high opinion he had of his achievements, intoxicated him so far, that, bidding the glory of his name upon a sure footing, he gave way to extravagant presumption, and to contempt of Caesar, inasmuch, that he declared, "He had no need of arms, nor any extraordinary preparations against him, nor could he pull him down with much more than he had him up."

Besides when Appius returned from Gaul with the legions which he had lent to Caesar, he endeavoured to disparage the reputation of that general, and to represent him in a false light. "Pompey," he said, "knew not his own strength and the influence of his name, if he sought any other defence against Caesar, upon whom his own forces would turn, soon as they saw the former; such was their hatred of the one, and their affection for the other."

Pompey was so much elated at this account, and his confidence in him extremely negligent, that he laughed at those who seemed to fear the emperor. And when they said, that if Caesar should advance in a hostile manner to Rome, they did not see what they had to oppose him, he bade them, with an open and smiling countenance, give themselves no pain. "For, if in Italy," said he, "I do but stamp upon the ground, an army will appear."

Meantime Caesar was employing himself greatly. He was at no great distance from Italy, and not only won his soldiers to vote in the elections, but by private pecuniary applications, corrupted many of the magistrates. Paulus the consul was of the number, and he had 1,500 talents for changing sides. He also Curio, one of the tribunes of the people, for whom he paid a great debt, and Antony, who, out of friendship to Curio, stood engaged with him for the debt.

It is said, that when some of Caesar's officers, who stood before the senate-house, waiting the issue of the debates, were informed, that they would give Caesar a longer term in his command, he put his hand upon his sword, and said, "*But this shall give it.*"

He proposed all the actions, and preparations of his general in that way; though Curio's demands on behalf of Caesar seemed plausible. He proposed, either Pompey should likewise be obliged to dismiss his forces, or Caesar suffered to keep his. "If they are both reduced to a private station," he, "they agree on reasonable terms: or, each respects the other."

1. Pompey's fishing boat. This poetry he built the a ship. He does, and afterwards bore his name.

■■■ that he should only keep ■■■ of ■■■ legions. ■■■ Lentulus ■■■ against it, and Cato cried out, "That Pompey ■■■ committing a second error, in suffering himself to ■■■ so imposed upon ;" the reconciliation, therefore, did ■■■ ■■■

At ■■■ time ■■■ was brought, that Caesar ■■■ seized Arminium, a considerable city in Italy, and ■■■ ■■■ marching directly towards Rome with all his forces. The last circumstance, indeed, ■■■ true. ■■■ advanced with only ■■■ horse and 5,000 foot ; the ■■■ of his forces ■■■ on the other side of ■■■ Alps, ■■■ he would ■■■ wait ■■■ them, choosing rather ■■■ put his adversaries in confusion by a sudden and unexpected attack, than ■■■ fight them when better prepared. *When he came to the river Rubicon, which ■■■ the boundary of his province, he stood silent a long time, weighing ■■■ himself the greatness of his enterprise. At last, like ■■■ who plunges down from the top of a precipice into a gulf of immense depth, he silenced his reason, and shut his eyes against the danger ; and crying out, in ■■■ Greek language, "The die is cast," he marched over with his army.*

Upon the first report of ■■■ at Rome, the city ■■■ in greater disorder and astonishment than had ever been known. The senate and the magistrates ran immediately to Pompey. Lucius Volcatius Tullus asked him, what forces he had ready for war ; and as ■■■ hesitated in his ■■■, and only said ■■■ last, in ■■■ tone of no great assurance, "That he had the ■■■ legions lately ■■■ him back by Caesar, and that out of ■■■ new levies he believed he should shortly be able to ■■■ up a body of 30,000 men ;" Tullus ■■■ claimed, "O Pompey ! you have deceived ■■■ ;" and gave it as his opinion, that ambassadors ■■■ immediately be despatched to Caesar. Then one Favonius, a man otherwise of ■■■ ill character, ■■■ who, by an insolent brutality, affected to imitate the noble freedom of Cato, bade Pompey "stamp upon the ground, and call forth ■■■ armies he had promised."

Pompey bore this ill-timed reproach with great mildness ; and when Cato put him in mind of the warnings he had given him ■■■ ■■■ Caesar, from the first, he said, "Cato indeed ■■■ spoken more like a prophet, and *he* ■■■ acted more like a friend." Cato then advised that Pompey should not only be appointed general, but invested with a discretionary power : adding that, "those who were the authors of great evils knew best how to cure them." So saying, he set out for his province of Sicily, and the other great officers departed for theirs.

Almost ■■■ Italy ■■■ in motion, and nothing could ■■■ more perplexed than the whole face of things. Those who lived ■■■ of Rome ■■■ to ■■■ from ■■■ quarters, and those who ■■■ ■■■ abandoned ■■■ as ■■■ ■■■ saw, ■■■ in such ■■■ tempestuous ■■■ disorderly ■■■ of affairs, the well disposed part of ■■■ city wanted ■■■ strength, and that ■■■ ill disposed ■■■ so refractory th ■■■ they could not be managed by the magistrates. The terrors ■■■ the people could not be removed, ■■■ ■■■ would ■■■ Pompey ■■■ lay a plan of action for himself According ■■■ the passion where-

with each actuated, whether fear, sorrow, or doubt, they endeavoured to inspire him with the same; insomuch that they adopted different measures the same day. He could gain certain intelligence of the enemy's motions, because every one brought him the report he happened to take up, and was angry if it did not come with credit.

Pompey at last caused it to be declared by an edict in form, that the commonwealth was in danger, and peace was expected. This which, he signified that he should look upon those who remained in the city as the partisans of Cæsar; he then quitted it in the dusk of the evening. *The consuls also fled, without offering the sacrifices which their customs required before a flight.* However, in this great extremity, Pompey could not but be considered as happy in the affections of his countrymen. Though many were against the war, there were many who hated the general. Nay, the number of those who followed him, and of attachment to his person, was greater than that of the adventurers in the cause of liberty.

A few days after, Cæsar arrived at Rome. When he was in possession of the city, he behaved with great moderation in many respects, and composed, in a good measure, the minds of its remaining inhabitants. Only when Metellus, one of the tribunes of the people, forbade him to touch the money in the public treasury, he threatened him with death, adding an expression more terrible than the threat itself, "That it was easier for him to do it than to resist it." Metellus being thus frightened off, Cæsar took what sums he wanted, and then went in pursuit of Pompey; hastening to drive him out of Italy, before his forces could arrive from Spain.

Pompey, who was master of Brundisium, and had a sufficient number of transports, desired the consuls to embark without loss of time, and sent them before him with thirty cohorts to Dyrrhachium. But the same time he sent his father-in-law Scipio and his son Cneus into Syria, to provide ships of war. He had well secured the gates of the city, and planted the lightest of his slingers and archers upon the walls; and having ordered the Brundisians to keep within doors, he caused a number of trenches to be cut, and sharp stakes to be driven into them, and then covered with earth, in all the city except two which he left down to the sea. In three days all his other troops were embarked without interruption; and then he suddenly gave the signal to those who guarded the walls; in consequence of which, they fled swiftly down the harbour, and got aboard. Thus having his whole complement, he sailed, and crossed the sea to Dyrrhachium.

When Cæsar came and saw the walls left destitute of defence,¹ he concluded that Pompey had taken to flight, and in his eagerness to pursue, would certainly have fallen upon the sharp stakes in the

¹ Pompey designed the place nine days, during which he not only built up the land side, but undertook to shut up

the port by a staircase of his own invention. However, before the work could be completed, Pompey made his escape.

trenches, ■■■ Brundisians ■■■ of them. ■■■ avoided the streets, and took a circuit round the town, by which he discovered that all the vessels were ■■■ out, except two that had ■■■ many soldiers aboard.

This manoeuvre of Pompey ■■■ commonly reckoned ■■■ greatest ■■■ generalship. Caesar, however, ■■■ help wondering, that his adversary, who was in possession of a ■■■ ed town, ■■■ expected his forces from Spain, and ■■■ same time ■■■ of the sea, should give up Italy in such a manner. Cicero,¹ too, blamed him for imitating the conduct of Themistocles, ■■■ than that of Pericles, when the posture of his ■■■ resembled ■■■ circumstances of ■■■ latter. On the other hand, the steps which Caesar took showed he ■■■ afraid of having the ■■■ drawn ■■■ to any length : for having taken Numerius,² a friend of Pompey's, he ■■■ him ■■■ Brundisium, with offers of coming ■■■ an accommodation upon reasonable ■■■ But Numerius, instead of returning ■■■ an answer, sailed away with Pompey.

Caesar thus made himself master of ■■■ Italy in sixty days without the least bloodshed, and he would have been glad to have gone immediately in pursuit of Pompey. But as he ■■■ in ■■■ of shipping, he gave up that design for ■■■ present, and marched ■■■ Spain, with an intent to gain the forces there.

In the meantime Pompey assembled a great army ; and at sea ■■■ was altogether invincible. For he had 500 ships of war, and the number ■■■ his lighter vessels was still greater. As for his land forces, he had 7,000 horse, the flower of Rome and Italy,³ ■■■ family, fortune, and courage. His infantry, though numerous, ■■■ mixture of raw, undisciplined soldiers : he therefore ■■■ exercised them during his stay ■■■ Beroea, where he ■■■ by no ■■■ idle, but went through all the exercises of a soldier, ■■■ if ■■■ had been in the flower of ■■■ ■■■ inspired his troops with ■■■ courage, when they ■■■ Pompey ■■■ Great, at the ■■■ of fifty-eight, going through ■■■ whole military discipline, in heavy armour, ■■■ foot ; and then mounting his horse, drawing ■■■ sword with ■■■ when ■■■ speed, and as dexterously sheathing ■■■ again. As ■■■ the javelin, he threw it ■■■ only with great exactness, but with such force that few of the young men could dart it to ■■■ greater distance.

Many kings and princes repaired to his camp, and ■■■ number of Roman officers who had commanded armies ■■■ so ■■■ that it ■■■ sufficient ■■■ make up ■■■ complete ■■■ Labienus,⁴ who

¹ Ep. to Atticus, vii. 11.

² Caesar calls him *On. Magnus*. He was Master of Pompey's Board of War.

³ Caesar on ■■■ contrary says, that this body of horse was almost entirely composed of strangers. "There were 600 Galatians, 500 Cappadocians, as many Thracians, 200 Macedonians, 500 Gauls, or Germans, 800 raised out of his own estates, or out of his ■■■ retinue;" and so of the rest, whom he particularly ■■■ names, and tells us to what ■■■ they belonged.

⁴ It seemed very strange, says Dio, that Labienus should abandon Caesar, who had loaded him with honours and given him the command of all the forces on the other side of the Alps, while he was at Rome. But he ■■■ this reason for it : "Labienus, elated with his immense wealth, ■■■ proud of his preferments, forgot himself to such a degree as to assume a character very unbecoming a person in his circumstances. He was even for putting himself upon an equality with Caesar, who thereupon grew cool to

honoured with Caesar's friendship, and served under him in Gaul, joined Pompey. Even Brutus, the of Brutus who was killed by very fairly in the Cisalpine Gaul, a man of spirit, who had never spoken to Pompey before because him the of his father, ranged under banners, as defender of the liberties of his country. Cicero too, though had written and advised otherwise, not to appear in the number of those who hazarded their lives for Rome. Tadius Sextius, though extremely old, and maimed of leg, repaired, among the rest, his standard Macedonia; and though only laughed at the appearance he made, Pompey no his eyes upon he rose up, him; considering it a great proof of justice of his cause, that, spite of age and weakness, persons should danger with him, rather than stay home in safety.

after Pompey assembled his senate, and at motion of Cato, a decree made, "That no Roman should killed except battle, any city that was subject to the Romans plundered." Pompey's party gained ground daily. Those who lived a great distance, or too weak take a share in the war, interested themselves in the cause much as they were able, and, with words at least, contended for it; looking upon those enemies both to the gods and men, who did not that Pompey might conquer.

but C made a merciful of his victories. He lately himself master of Pompey's forces in Spain, though it was not without a battle, he dismissed the officers, and incorporated the troops with own. After this, he passed the Alps again, marched through Italy to Brundisium, where he arrived at the of the winter solstice. There he crossed the sea, and landed at Oricum; from whence despatched Vibullius,¹ of Pompey's friends, whom had brought prisoner thither, with proposals of a conference between and Pompey, "in which they should to disband their armies within three days, renew their friendship, confirm it solemn oaths, both to Italy."

Pompey took for another snare, and therefore drew down in haste the sea, and secured all the forts and places strength for land forces, well all the ports and other commodious stations for shipping; that there a that blew, which did bring him either provisions, troops, money. On the other hand, Caesar reduced such straits, both by and land, that he was under necessity of seeking battle.—Accordingly, attacked Pompey's entrenchments, and

wards him, and treated him with some rewards, which received, and went over to Pompey.

¹ printed in, Fabius; but one of the manuscripts gives us Vibullius, which is the name he has in Caesar's Comment. lib. iii. Vibullius Rufus travelled night and day, without allowing

himself any rest, till he reached Pompey's camp, who had not yet received advice of Caesar's arrival; but was no sooner informed than he immediately despatched Apollonia, than he immediately despatched, and by long marches, reached Oricum before Caesar.

him defiance daily. In most of these the advantage; but one day was in danger of losing whole army. Pompey fought with much valour, put whole detachment to flight, after having 2,000 men upon spot; but either unable afraid to pursue blow, and their camp with them. Caesar on the occasion, "This day the victory been the enemy's general known how conquer."¹

Pompey's troops, elated with this success, in great come to a decisive battle. Nay, Pompey give in their opinions by writing to the kings, the generals, and cities in his interest, the style of a conqueror. Yet all while issue of a general action, believing it much better, by length of time, by famine and fatigue, to tire men who had been invincible arms, long accustomed conquer when they fought together. Besides, he knew infirmities of made them unfit for other operations of war, for long marches and counter-marches, for digging trenches and building forts, and that, therefore, they wished for nothing much battle. Pompey, with all these arguments, found it no easy to keep army quiet.

After this last engagement, Caesar in such of provisions, that he forced decamp, and he took his way through Athamania into Thessaly. This so much to high opinion Pompey's soldiers of themselves, that it impossible to keep it within bounds. They cried with voice, "Caesar fled." Some called upon the general to pursue; some to pass into Italy. Others sent their and servants Rome, to engage him near the *forum*, for convenience of soliciting the great officers of. And not a few went of their own accord to Cornelia, who had been privately lodged in Lesbos, to congratulate her upon the conclusion of the war.

On this great emergency, a council of war was called; in which Afranius gave it as opinion, "they ought immediately regain Italy, for prize aimed in the Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and both Gauls would soon submit to those who were masters there. What should affect Pompey still was, that his native country, just by, stretched her hands him a suppliant; and could be consistent with his honour let her remain under such indignities, and disgraceful vassalage the slaves and flatterers of tyrants." Pompey thought it would neither be for his reputation, fly a second time from Caesar, and again to be pursued, when Fortune

¹ Yet may be observed, in defence of, that as his troops were raw and untried, it was not amiss to try them in many skirmishes and light attacks, before he hazarded a general engagement with an army of veterans. Many instances of that kind might be produced from the conduct of the ablest

generals. And we are persuaded that if Pompey had attempted to force Caesar's camp he would have been repulsed with loss and disgrace. Pompey's greatest error seems to have been, his suffering himself to be brought to an action at last by the importunity of his officers and soldiers.

put it in **his** power **to** pursue ; nor agreeable **to** **his** laws **of** piety, to leave **his** father-in-law Scipio, and many other **of** **his** aular dignity, **in** Greece and Thessaly, a prey **to** Cæsar, with all their **own** forces. As for Rome, **he** should take **care** **of** her, by fixing the scene of war at the greatest distance from **it**, without feeling its calamities, or perhaps hearing the report of them, **he** might quietly wait for the **event**.

This opinion prevailing, **he** **went** out in pursuit of Cæsar, with a resolution **not** **to** hazard **a** battle, but to keep **him** enough **to** hold him, as it **was** besieged, and to wear him **out** with famine. This **he** thought the best method **to** could take ; and **he** **was**, moreover, brought him, of its being whispered among the equestrian order, " That as **soon** **as** they had taken off Cæsar, they could do nothing better than take off him too." Some say, **that** the reason why **he** did **not** employ Cato in any service of importance, but, upon **his** march against Cæsar, **he** **sent** him to the sea-coast, **to** take **care** **of** the baggage, lest, after **he** **had** destroyed Cæsar, Cato **should** oblige him **to** lay down his commission.

While **he** thus softly followed the enemy's steps, **a** complaint was raised against him, and urged with much clamour, that **he** **was** not exercising **his** generalship upon Cæsar, but upon the **people** and the whole commonwealth, in order that **he** might for **them** keep the command in his hands, and have those for his guards and servants, who had a right **to** govern **the** world. Domitius Ænobarbus, to increase the *odium*, always called him Agamemnon, **a** king **of** kings. Favonius piqued **him** no less with a jest, than others by their unseasonable severity ; **he** **was** about crying, " My friends, **we** shall **see** **the** **signs** in Tusculum this year." And Lucius Afranius who lost the forces in Spain, and was accused of having betrayed them into the enemy's hand, now when **he** **saw** Pompey avoid **a** battle, said, " **It** **was** surprised that his **generals** should make any difficulty of fighting that merchant (as they **called** him) who trafficked for provinces."

These **and** many other like **things** of ridicule **had** such an effect upon Pompey, who **was** ambitious of being spoken well of by the world, **and** **he** **gave** much deference for the opinions **of** his friends, that **he** gave up his own better judgment, **to** follow them in the **course** of their **own** hopes and prospects. A thing which would have **been** unpardonable in the pilot **to** **steer** a ship, much more in the commander-in-chief of **a** many nations, and such **a** **large** armies. **He** had often commended the physician who gives no indulgence to **the** whimsical longings of **his** patients, **and** yet **he** humoured **the** sickly cravings of his army, and **was** afraid **to** give them pain, though necessary for the preservation of their life and being. For who can say that army **was** in **a** sound and healthy state, when some of the officers went about the camp canvassing for the offices of consul and prætor ; **and** others, namely, Spinther, Domitius, **and** Scipio, were engaged in quarrels and **disputes** about Cæsar's high-priesthood, **as** if **he** **was** adversary **to** **only** a Tigranes. **a** king of Armenia, **or** a prince of the

Nabathæans; and not that Cæsar and that army, who had stormed a thousand cities, subdued above three hundred nations, gained numberless battles of Germans and Gauls, a of prisoners, killed a fairly a field. Notwithstanding this, they continued loud tumultuous their ends of a battle, and when they to the plains of Pharsalia, forced Pompey to call a council of Labienus, who the of cavalry, rose up first, and took oath, "That he would the battle, till put enemy flight." All other officers swore the

The night following, Pompey this dream. thought, "he entered his own theatre, and was received with loud plaudits; which, he adorned the temple of Venus Victorious with many spoils." This vision, on side, encouraged him, and on the other alarmed him. He was that Cæsar, who descendant of Venus, would aggrandised his expense. Besides, a panic¹ fear ran through the camp, the noise of which awakened him. And about the morning watch, over Cæsar's camp where everything perfectly quiet, there suddenly appeared a great light, from which of fire issued in the form of a torch, and fell upon that of Pompey. Cæsar himself says, he saw it as he going his rounds.

Cæsar preparing, break of day, march to Scotusa,² soldiers striking their tents, the and of burden were already in motion, when his brought intelligence, that they had seen arms handed about in the enemy's camp, and perceived noise and bustle, which indicated approaching battle. After these, others came and assured him, that the first ranks were drawn up.

Upon this Cæsar said, "The long-wished day is come, on which we fight with men, and not with and famine." Then immediately ordered the red mantle to be put up before pavilion, which, among Romans, is the signal of a battle. The soldiers no sooner beheld, than they left their tents as they were, and ran to arms loud shouts, and every expression of joy. And when the officers began to put them in order of battle, each man fell into his proper rank as quickly, and with much skill and ease, as a chorus a tragedy.

Pompey³ placed in right wing against Antony, and father-in-law, Scipio, in centre, opposite Dumitius Cal-

¹ Pompey's fears were so called, from the terror which the god Pan is said to have struck the enemies of Greece with, at the battle of Marathon.

² Scotusa was a Thessaly. Cæsar was persuaded that Pompey would not come to action, and therefore chose to march of provisions, as well as to harass the enemy with frequent movements, and to watch an opportunity, in some of those movements, to fall upon them.

³ It is somewhat remarkable, that the which Cæsar has left of this memorable battle should with Pompey. Yet so it is: Plutarch differs widely from him, and Appian from both. According to Cæsar (Bell. Civil. lib. iii.), Pompey was on the left with legions, which Cæsar retained him at the beginning of war helped Pompey's father-in-law, was in the centre, with the legions he had brought from Syria, and the retnk res-

vinus. His left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and ported by cavalry; they almost ranged that side, in order in upon Caesar, and cut the tenth legion, which accounted the bravest in his army, and in which he used to fight in person. Caesar, seeing the enemy's wing so well guarded with horse, and fearing the excellence of their armour, for a detachment of six cohorts from the body of reserve, and placed behind the tenth legion, with orders to stir before attack, lest they should be discovered by the enemy; but when the enemy's cavalry charged, to make up through the foremost ranks, then not to discharge their javelins at a distance, as they generally do in their eagerness, but to close fighting, push forward into the eyes and faces of the enemy. "For those fair young dancers," said he, "will stand the steel aimed at their eyes, will fly to their handsome faces."

While Caesar was thus employed, Pompey took a view on horseback of the order of both armies: and finding that the enemy kept their ranks with the utmost exactness, and quietly waited for the signal of battle, while his own men, want of experience, fluctuating and unsteady, he was afraid they would be broken upon the first onset. He therefore commanded the vanguard to stand firm in their ranks,¹ and in that close order to receive the enemy's charge. Caesar condemned this measure, as only tending to lessen the vigour of the blows, which is always greatest in assailants, but also to damp the fire and spirit of the men; whereas those who advance with impetuosity, animate each other with shouts, filled with an enthusiastic valour and superior ardour.

Caesar's army consisted of 22,000 men, and Pompey's something more than twice that number. When the signal was given on both sides, and the trumpets sounded a charge, each common soldier attended only to his own concern. But some of the principal Romans and Greeks, who only stood and looked on, the dreadful moment of action approached, could not help considering what the avarice and ambition of two men had brought to the Roman empire. The same day, on both sides, the troops marshalled in the same manner, the standards; short,

ments sent by several kings and states of Asia. The Cilician legion, and some cohorts which had served in Spain, were in the right, under the command of Afranius. As Pompey's right wing was covered by the Flupius, he strengthened the left with the 7,000 horse, as well as with the slingers and archers. The whole army, consisting of 45,000 men, was drawn up in three lines, with very little space between them. In conformity to this disposition, Caesar's army was drawn up in the following order: the tenth legion, which had on all occasions signalled itself above the rest, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been consider-

ably weakened in the action at Dyrrachium, the eighth legion was posted so near it, as to be able to support and reinforce it on occasion. The rest of Caesar's forces filled up the spaces between the two wings. Mark Antony commanded the left wing, Sylla the right, and Lucius Domitius Calvus the main body. As for Caesar, he posted himself on the right over against Pompey, that he might have him always in sight.

¹ Vide Cæs. ubi supra.

This, however, must be said in excuse for Pompey, that generals of great fame and experience have sometimes done as he did.

javelins, — they — been taught, and — kind of fighting, and — the least previous — of this, could not parry — endure the blows upon their faces, but turned their backs, — covered their eyes with their hands, and soon fled with great dishonour. Caesar's men took no care to pursue them, but turned — force upon — enemy's infantry, particularly upon that wing, which, — stripped of its horse, lay open to the attack on all sides. The — cohorts, therefore, — them in flank, while the tenth legion charged them in front; and they, who — hoped — round the enemy, and now, instead of that, — themselves — rounded, — but — short resistance, and then took — precipitate flight.

By the great dust that was raised, Pompey conjectured the — of his cavalry; and it is hard to say what passed in — mind — that moment. He appeared like a man moonstruck and distracted; and without considering that — was Pompey the Great, — speaking — any one, — quitted the ranks, and retired step by step towards his camp. A scene which — better painted than in — of Homer:¹ —

But part — Jove, exposing Hector's part,
Shot heaven-bred horror through the Trojan's breast;
Confused, unarm'd in Hector's garments grown,
Amazed he stood with terror on the walls;
O'er his broad back his moony helmet he threw,
And glaring round by tardy steps with slow,—Fors.

In this condition — entered his tent, where he sat down, and uttered — a word, till — last, upon finding that — of the enemy entered the camp with the fugitives, he said, "What! into my camp too!" After this short exclamation, he rose up, and dressing himself in — suitable to — fortune, privately withdrew. All the other legions fled; and a great slaughter — made in the camp, of the — and others who — the care of the tents. But Asinius Pollio, who then fought — Caesar's side, — us, that of the regular troops there were not above 6,000 men killed.²

Upon — taking of the camp, there was — spectacle which showed, in strong colours, the vanity and folly of Pompey's troops.

¹ In the eleventh book of the *Iliad*, where he is speaking of the flight of Ajax before Hector.

² Caesar tells us that the cohorts appointed to defend the camp made a vigorous resistance; but being — length overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he resolved to invest them. But before he had finished his lines, want of water obliged them to abandon that post, and retire towards Darlas. Caesar pursued the fugitives at the head of four legions (not of the fourth legion, as the authors of the *Universal History* erroneously say), and after six miles' march came up with them. But they, not daring to engage troops flushed

with victory, fled for refuge to a high hill, the foot of which was watered by a — river. Though Caesar's men were quite spent, and ready to faint with the excessive heat and the fatigue of the whole day, yet, by — obliging manner, he prevailed upon them to cut off the conveyance of the water from the enemy by a trench. Hereupon, the unfortunate fugitives came to a capitulation, threw down their arms, and implored the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except some senators, who, as it was now night, escaped in the dark. *Vide* *Caes. Bell. lib. iii. 50*

³ Caesar says, that in all there were 15,000 killed, and 24,000 taken prisoners.

All the tables were crowned with myrtle ; the beds were covered with flowers ; the tables covered with cups, and the bowls of wine set out. In short, everything had the appearance of preparations for a banquet, and sacrifices, rather than for going to battle. To such a degree their vain hopes corrupted them, that they had such a senseless confidence they could conquer in any field !

When Pompey had got at a little distance from the camp, he quitted his horse. He had very few people about him ; and, as he was not pursued, he went softly on, wrapped up in such thoughts as we may suppose he had, who had been used for thirty-four years to conquer and carry all before him, and in his old age first came to know what it was to be defeated and fly. We may easily conjecture what his thoughts must be, when in that short hour he lost his glory and his power which had been growing up amidst so many wars and conflicts ; he who was lately guarded with such armies of horse and foot, and such great powerful fleets, was reduced to so contemptible an equipage, that his enemies, who were in search of him, could not know him.

He passed by Larissa, and came to Tempe, where, burning with thirst, he threw himself upon the grass, and drank out of the river ; after which, he passed through the valley, and went down to the sea-coast. There he spent the remainder of the night in a poor fisherman's cabin. Next morning, about sunrise of day, he went on board a small river-boat, taking with him such of his company as were freemen. The slaves he dismissed, bidding them go to Caesar, and fear nothing.

As he was coasting along, he saw a ship of burden just ready to sail ; the captain of which was Peticius, a Roman citizen, who, though not acquainted with Pompey, knew him by sight. It happened that this man, the night before, dreamed he saw Pompey come and visit him, not in the figure he had formerly known him, but in mean and melancholy circumstances. He was giving an account of his dream, as persons, who have a great deal of time upon their hands, love to discourse about such matters ; when, all a sudden, one of the mariners called him to a little boat rowing up to him from the land, and he was making signs, by shaking their garments and stretching out their hands. Upon this, Peticius stood up, and could distinguish Pompey among them, in the same form as he had seen him in his dream. Then beating himself for sorrow, he ordered the boat to come down the ship's boat, and held out his hand to Pompey to invite him aboard ; but by his dress he perceived his change of fortune. Therefore, without waiting for any further application, he took him up, and his companions as he thought proper, and sailed on their way. The persons Pompey took with him, were Lentulus Favonius ; and a little after, they saw a boat beckoning to them with great signs from the shore, he took him up. The ship provided them with the best supper it could, and when it was ready, Pompey, who wanted

of a servant, going to wash himself, but Favonius seeing it, stepped up, and both washed and anointed him. All the time on board, he continued upon him in all the offices of a servant, the washing of him and providing his supper; insomuch, who saw the unaffected simplicity and attachment which Favonius performed these offices, cried out,

—The mind a noble dignity
 In such an act, nothing indebecomes.

Pompey, the day of his voyage, sailed by Amphipolis, and thence steered for Mitylene, to take up Cornelia and his wife. As soon as he reached the island, he sent a messenger to the city with a letter far different from what Cornelia expected. For, by the flattering which many officious persons had given her, she understood that the dispute was decided in Dyrrhachium, and that nothing but the pursuit of Caesar remained to be attended to. The messenger, finding her possessed with such hopes, had power to make the usual salutations; but expressing the greatness of Pompey's misfortunes by his sighs rather than words, only told her, "She make haste, if she had a mind to see Pompey on his ship only, and that not his own."

At this Cornelia threw herself upon the ground, where she lay a long time insensible and speechless. At last, coming to herself, she perceived there was no more to be lost in tears and lamentations, and therefore hastened through the town to the sea. Pompey met her, and received her to his arms; she was just going to fall. While she hung upon his neck, she thus addressed him: "I see, my dear husband, your present unhappy condition is the effect of my ill fortune, and not yours. Alas! how you reduced to a poor vessel, who, before your marriage with Cornelia, traversed this sea with 500 galleys! Why do you come to see me, and rather leave me to my destiny, who have loaded you too with such a weight of calamities! How happy had it been for me to have died before I heard that Publius, my husband, was killed by the Parthians! How wise, if I followed him to the grave, as I intended! What have I lived for since, but to bring misfortunes upon Pompey the Great?"

Such, she was assured, was the speech of Cornelia; and Pompey answered, "Till this moment, Cornelia, you have experienced nothing but the effects of fortune; it is I who deceived you, because I stayed with you longer than she commonly does with her favourites. But, fated as we are, we must bear this reverse, and make another trial of her. For it is no improbable, that

1. Cornelia is represented by Lucan, too, as imputing the misfortunes of Pompey to her alliance with him; and it seems, from one part of her speech on this occasion, that she should have been given to Caesar.

Utinam Thales! invisi Caesaris amor! there were anything in this, it might

have been a material cause of the quarrel between Caesar and Pompey, as the latter, by means of this alliance, must have strengthened himself with the Cæsarian interest; for Cornelia was the sister of Publius. — — — — —

we emerge from this poor condition, and rise to great things again, than it should fall great things into poor condition."

Cornelia the city her valuable and The people of Mitylene to their respects to Pompey, and to invite their city. refused go, and bade them surrender themselves conqueror without fear; "For Cæsar," he told them, "had great clemency." After this, he turned Cratippus the philosopher, who was come from the him, began to complain a little of Providence, express doubts concerning it. Cratippus made some concessions, and, turning the discourse, encouraged him hope better thing; that he might not give him pain, by an unseasonable opposition to arguments; he might have answered objections against Providence, by showing, the state, the constitution, in such disorder, that necessary should changed into a monarchy. Or this question would have silenced him, "How know, Pompey, that, if you had conquered, you would have made a better use of your good fortune than Cæsar?" But must leave the determinations of Heaven its superior wisdom.

As soon his wife and friends were embarked, he sail, continued his course without touching any port, except for water and provisions, till came to Attalia, a city of Pamphylia. There he joined by some Cilician galleys; and beside picking up a number of soldiers, he found a little time sixty about him. When he informed that his fleet still entire, and that Cato gone to Africa with considerable body of men which had collected after their flight, lamented to his friends his great error, suffering himself to be forced into an engagement at land, and making no use of those forces, in which he confidently stronger; even taking care to fight his fleet, that, in case of his meeting with a check at land, he might have been supplied sea with another army, capable of making head against the enemy. Indeed, no greater mistake in Pompey's whole conduct, remarkable of Cæsar's generalship, than in removing the scene of action such a distance from the naval forces.

However, as it necessary to undertake something with the he left, to cities, and sailed others himself, raise money, and to a supply of for his ships. But knowing the extraordinary celerity of the enemy's motions, he was afraid he might be beforehand with him, and seize all that he was preparing. He therefore, began of retiring to some asylum, and proposed the matter in council. They could not think of any province in the Roman empire that would afford a safe retreat; when they their eyes on foreign kingdoms, Pompey mentioned Parthia as most likely to receive and protect them in their present weak condition, and afterwards send a force to retrieve their affairs.

were of opinion, it was proper to apply to Africa, and Iuba in particular. Theophanes of Lesbos observed it mad to leave Egypt, which was distant three days' sail. Besides, Ptolemy,¹ who growing towards manhood, had particular obligations Pompey on his father's account; and should he go then, and put in the hands of the Parthians, the perfidious people in the world? He represented what a wrong it would be, if, rather than clemency of noble Roman, who his father-in-law, and contented with the second place of eminence, would person with Arsaces,² by whom even Crassus would not taken alive. He added, that it would be extremely absurd to carry young woman of family of Scipio among barbarians, who thought power consisted in the display of insolence and outrage; and where, if she escaped unviolated, it would be believed she did not, after she had been with those who were capable of treating her with indignity. It said, this last consideration only prevented his marching the Euphrates; but it is some doubt with us, whether it rather his fate than his opinion, which directed his steps another way.

When it determined that they should seek for refuge in Egypt, he set sail from Cyprus with Cornelia, in a Seleucian galley. The accompanied him, some in ships of war, and some in merchantmen: and they made safe voyage. Being informed that Ptolemy was with his army at Pelusium, where he was gaged in war with his sister, he proceeded thither, and sent a messenger before him notify arrival, and to entreat the king's protection.

Ptolemy very young, and Photinus, his pri minister, called a council of his ablest officers; though their advice had more weight than he pleased to allow it. He ordered each, however, to give his opinion. But who can, without indignation, consider, that the fate of Pompey the Great to be determined by Photinus, eunuch; by Theodotus, man of Chios, who hired to teach the prince rhetoric; and by Achilles, Egyptian? For among the king's chamberlains and tutors, these had the greatest influence him, and the persons he sulted. Pompey lay anchor some distance from the place, waiting the determination of respectable board; le thought it beneath him to be indebted to Cæsar for his safety. The council were divided in their opinions; some advising prince give him an honourable reception; and others to him an order to depart. But Theodotus, display his eloquence, insisted both were wrong. "If you receive him," he, "you will have

¹ This was Ptolemy Dionysius, the son of Amyrtaeus, who died in the year of 704. was the year before the fall of Jerusalem. He was now in his twentieth year.

² this passage it appears, that

 was the common name of the king of Parthia. For it was not proper name of the king then upon the throne, nor of was war with Crassus.

Cæsar your enemy, and Pompey for your enemy. You order him off, Pompey may have day revenge for affront, Cæsar re-venge your having put him in his hands: the best method, therefore, is to send him, and put him to death. By this means you will do Cæsar a favour, and have nothing to fear from Pompey." He added, with a smile, "Dead men do not bite."

This advice being approved of, the execution of it was committed to Achilles. In consequence of which, he took with him Septimius, who formerly been one of Pompey's officers, and Salvius, who had acted under him as a centurion, with three or four assistants, made for Pompey's ship, where his principal friends and officers had assembled, to see how the affair would go. When they perceived nothing magnificent in their reception, contrary to the hopes which Theophanes had conceived, but that a few men only, in a fishing-boat, came to wait upon them, such a want of respect appeared as suspicious circumstance; and they advised Pompey, while he was out of the reach of missive weapons, to get out to the main sea.

Meantime, the boat approaching, Septimius spoke first, addressing Pompey, in Latin, by the title of *Imperator*. Then Achilles saluted him in Greek, and desired him to come into the boat, because the water was very shallow towards the shore, and the galley must strike upon the sands. At the same time they saw several of the king's ships getting ready, the shore covered with troops, so that if they would have changed their minds, it was then too late; besides, their distrust would have furnished the assassins with a pretence for their injustice. He, therefore, embraced Cornelia, who lamented his sad exit before it happened; and ordered two centurions, one of his enfranchised slaves named Phillip, and a servant called Scenes, to get into the boat before him. When Achilles had hold of his hand, and was going to step out himself, he turned to his wife and son, and repeated that motto of Sophocles,

"Then a tyrant's door? then farewell freedom!
Though none as air before—"

These were the last words he spoke to them.

As there was a considerable distance between the galley and the shore, and he observed that not a man in the boat showed him the least civility, he spoke to him, he said, "Septimius, and said, "Methinks, I remember you to have been my fellow-soldier:" but he answered only with a nod, without testifying any regard or friendship. A profound silence again taking place, Pompey took out a paper, in which he had written a speech in Greek, that he might make to Ptolemy, and amused himself with reading it.

When they approached the shore, Cornelia with her friends in the galley, watched the boat with great anxiety. She was a little encouraged, when she saw a number of the king's great officers come down the strand, in all appearance to receive her husband and do him honour. But at that moment Pompey, taking hold of Phillip's hand, came on with more ease, Septimius behind,

and run ■■■ through the body ; after which Salvius and Achilles also drew their swords. Pompey took his robe in both ■■■ and covered his face ; and without saying or doing the least thing unworthy of him, submitted to ■■■ fate : only uttering a groan, while they despatched him with many blows. He ■■■ then just fifty-nine years old, for ■■■ killed the day after his birth-day.¹

Cornelia, and her friends in ■■■ galleys, upon seeing ■■■ murdered, gave a shriek that was heard ■■■ the shore, and weighed anchor immediately. Their flight was assisted by a brisk gale, ■■■ they got ■■■ more to sea ; so that the Egyptians gave up their design of pursuing them. The murderers having ■■■ off Pompey's head, threw the body ■■■ of the boat naked, and ■■■ it exposed ■■■ all who ■■■ desirous of such a sight. Philip stayed till their curiosity was satisfied, and then washed the body ■■■ sea-water, and wrapped it in ■■■ of his own garments, because he ■■■ nothing else ■■■ hand. The ■■■ thing ■■■ to look ■■■ for wood for the funeral-pile ; and casting his eyes over the shore, he spied ■■■ remains of a fishing-boat ; which, though ■■■ large, would make a sufficient pile for a poor naked body that was not quite entire.

While ■■■ collecting the pieces of plank and putting them together, an old Roman, who had made ■■■ of his first campaigns under Pompey, came up and said to Philip, "Who are you that are preparing the funeral of Pompey the Great?" Philip answered, "I am his freedman." "But you ■■■ not," said the old Roman, "have this honour entirely to yourself. As a work of piety offers itself, let me have a share in it ; that I may ■■■ absolutely repent my having passed so many years in a foreign country ; but, ■■■ compensate many misfortunes, may have the consolation of doing ■■■ of the last honours" ■■■ the greatest general Rome ■■■ produced." In this ■■■ the funeral of Pompey conducted.

Next day Lucius Lentulus, who knew nothing of what had passed, because ■■■ upon ■■■ voyage from Cyprus, arrived upon the Egyptian shore, and ■■■ he was coasting along, ■■■ the funeral pile, and Philip, whom he did not yet know, standing by it. Upon which he said to himself, "Who has finished his days, and is going to leave his remains upon this shore ?" adding, after a short pause, with a sigh, "Ah ! Pompey the Great ! perhaps thou mayest be the man." Lentulus ■■■ after went ■■■ shore, and ■■■ taken ■■■ slain.

Such was the end of Pompey the Great. As for Caesar, ■■■ arrived ■■■ long after in Egypt, which he found in great disorder. When they ■■■ present the head, he turned from it, and ■■■ person ■■■ brought it, as a sight of horror. He received ■■■ seal,

¹ Some divines, in saying that Pompey never prospered after he returned to ■■■ the sanctuary in ■■■ temple at Jerusalem, intimate that his misfortunes were owing to ■■■ profanation ; but we ■■■ with Plutarch, to comment on the

supreme Being. Indeed he felt a sacrifice to as vile a set of people as he had before insulted ; for, ■■■ there was not upon earth a more despicable race of men than the cowardly cruel Egyptians.

² Of cooking as I was saying up the body.

but it was with tears. The device was a block holding a sword. The two assassins, Achilles and Photinus, he put to death; and the king, being defeated in battle, perished in the river. Theodotus, the rhetorician, escaped the vengeance of Cæsar, by leaving Egypt, but he wandered about a miserable fugitive, and was hated wherever he went. At last, Marcus Brutus, who Cæsar, found the wretch, in his province of Asia, and put him to death, after having made him suffer the most exquisite tortures. The bodies of Pompey were carried to Cornelia, who buried them near Alba.¹

CATO THE YOUNGER.

THE family of Cato had its first lustre and distinction from a great grandfather, Cato the Censor,² a man whose virtue, as we have observed in his life, ranked him with persons of the greatest reputation and authority in Rome. The Utican Cato, of whom we are now speaking, was left an orphan, together with his brother Cæpio, and his sister Porcia. He had also another sister called Servilia, but she was only sister by the mother's side.³ The orphans were brought up in the house of Livius Drusus, their mother's brother, who at that time had great influence in the administration; to which he was entitled by his eloquence, his wisdom, and dignity of mind: excellencies that put him on equality with the best of the Romans.

Cato, we are told, from his infancy discovered in his voice, his look, and his very diversions, a firmness and solidity, which neither passion nor anything else could shake. He pursued every object he was in view with a vigour far above his years, and a resolution that nothing could resist. Those who were inclined to flatter

all persons, and in all character, had less justice done by him than any other man of his time. His popular humanity, his literary and political skill, his prudence (which he sometimes unfortunately gave up), his natural bravery and generosity, his conjugal virtues, which (though sometimes impeached) were natural and morally great; his courage, which was certainly, in its original interests, the cause of Rome; all these circumstances entitled him to a more distinguished and more respectable character than any of his historians have thought proper to afford him. One circumstance, indeed, renders the accounts that the writers, who rose after his established monarchy, have given of his opposition, perfectly reconcilable to the prejudice which appears against him; or rather in

the reluctance which they have shown to praise him, they seemed to have felt that he deserved it: When the commonwealth was no more, and the supporters of his interest had fallen with it, then history itself, not to mention poets, departed from its proper privilege of impartiality, and the Muses made a sacrifice to impious power.

² Cato the Censor, at a very late period of life, married Salonina, daughter of his own steward. There was a family, however, from the same stock, which flourished when he came from the first was extinct.

³ Servilia was not his only sister by the maternal side; there were three of them; one, the mother of Brutus who killed Cæsar; another married to Lucullus; and a third to Junius Silanus. Cæpio, too, was his brother by the maternal side.

sure ■■■■ with a ■■■■ repulse, and to those who attempted ■■■■ intimidate him, he was ■■■■ more untractable. Scarcely anything could make him laugh, and it was ■■■■ rarely that ■■■■ countenance ■■■■ softened to a smile. He was not quickly ■■■■ easily moved ■■■■ it ■■■■ ■■■■ appease his resentment, when once excited.

His apprehension ■■■■ slow, and his learning came with difficulty ; but what he had once learned he long retained. It is, indeed, a common ■■■■ for persons of quick parts to have weak memories, ■■■■ what ■■■■ gained with labour and application ■■■■ always retained the longest, for every hard gained acquisition of science ■■■■ a kind of annealing upon the mind. The inflexibility of his disposition ■■■■ also to have retarded his progress in learning ; for to learn ■■■■ to submit ■■■■ a new impression ; and those submit the most easily who have the least power of resistance. Thus young men ■■■■ more persuasible than the old, and the sick than such ■■■■ well ; and, ■■■■ general, assent is ■■■■ easily gained from those who ■■■■ least able ■■■■ find doubts and difficulties. Yet Cato is said to have been very obedient to his preceptor, and to have done whatever he ■■■■ commanded ; only he would always inquire the reason, and ask why such a thing ■■■■ enjoined. Indeed, his preceptor Sarpædon (for that was his name) ■■■■ a man of engaging manners, who chose rather ■■■■ govern by reason ■■■■ by violence.

While Cato was yet a child, the Italian allies demanded to be admitted citizens of Rome. Popædus Silo, a man of great name as a soldier, and powerful among his people, had a friendship with Drusus, and lodged ■■■■ long time in his house during this application. As he was familiar with the children, he said to them one day, "Come, my good children, desire your uncle to assist us in our solicitation for the freedom." Cæpio smiled, and readily gave his promise ; but Cato made no ■■■■. And ■■■■ he ■■■■ observed to look with a ■■■■ and unkind eye upon the strangers, Popædus continued, "And you, my little man, what do you say ? Will not you give your guests your interest with your uncle, as well ■■■■ your brother ?"—Cato still refusing ■■■■ answer, and appearing by his silence and his looks inclined to deny the request, Popædus took him to the window and threatened, if he would ■■■■ promise, to throw him out. This he did in a harsh tone, and at ■■■■ time gave him several shakes, as if he was going to let him fall. But as ■■■■ child bore ■■■■ a long time without any marks of concern or fear, Popædus set him down, ■■■■ and softly ■■■■ friends, "This child is the glory of Italy. I verily believe, if he were a man, that we should not get ■■■■ vote among the people."

Another time, when ■■■■ relation invited young Cato, with other children, ■■■■ celebrate his birth-day, ■■■■ of the children ■■■■ play together in ■■■■ of the house. Their play ■■■■ to mimic a court of justice,¹ where some were accused in form, and afterwards ■■■■ to prison. One of them, a beautiful boy, being condemned,

¹ Children's plays are often taken from what is most familiar to them. In other

by a bigger boy, who acted as officer, in of apartments, called to Cato; who, as understood was, ran to the door, and, pushing away those who stood there guards and attempted to oppose him, carried child, and home in great anger; of children marching off with him.

These things gained him great reputation, of which the following is extraordinary instance: when Sylla chose to exhibit a of boys, which goes by Troy,¹ and considered a sacred exhibition, he selected two bands of young gentlemen, and assigned them captains, of which they readily accepted, on account of his being the son of Metella, the wife of Sylla; but the other, named Sextus, though nephew to Pompey the Great, they absolutely rejected, would go out to exercise under him. Sylla then asking them, "Whom they would have?" they unanimously cried "Cato;" and Sextus himself readily yielded the honour to him, as a boy of superior parts.

The friendship which had between Sylla and the father of Cato, induced him sometimes to send for the young man and his brother Cripio, and to talk familiarly with them, a favour, which, by reason of his dignity, he conferred very few. Sarpedon thinking such intercourse a great advantage his scholar, both in point of honour and safety, often took Cato to pay to the dictator. Sylla's house at that time looked like nothing but a place of execution; such were the numbers of people tortured and put to death there. Cato, who now in his fourteenth year, seeing the heads of many illustrious personages carried out, and observing that the by-standers sighed in secret these of blood, asked his preceptor, "Why somebody did not kill that man?" "Because," said he, "they fear him more than they hate him." "Why, then," said Cato, "do not you give a sword, that I may kill him, and deliver my country from slavery?" When Sarpedon heard such a speech from the boy, and with what a stern and angry look he uttered it, he greatly alarmed, and watched him narrowly afterwards, prevent his attempting some rash action.

When he was but a child, he was asked day, "Whom he loved most?" and answered, "His brother." The person who put the question, then asked him, "Whom he loved next?" and again he said, "His brother." "Whom in the third place?" and still it "brother:" and on he put questions him about it. This affection increased with his years, inasmuch

cuntries they are commonly formed upon trifling subjects; but the Roman children acted trials in the courts of justice, the command of armies, triumphal processions, and, in later times, the six emperors. Suetonius tells us that commanded his son-in-law Suetonius Celsinus, the son of Pompey, a child, to be thrown the sea, because he was said

to delight in plays of the last-mentioned kind.

¹ The invention of this game is generally ascribed to Ascanius. It was celebrated in the public circus by parties of boys, who were furnished arms suitable to their age. They were taken, for the most part, out of the noblest families in Rome.

that when he was twenty years old, he sipped, if he went out the country, if he appeared in the *forum*. Cæpio went with him. But he would not make use of perfumes as Cæpio did; indeed, the whole course of his life was strict and austere: so that when Cæpio sometimes commended for his temperance and sobriety, he would say, "I may have some claim to these virtues, when compared with other men; but when I compare myself with Cato, I am a Sippius." Sippius was the name of a person remarkably effeminate and luxurious.

After Cato had taken upon him the priesthood of Apollo, he changed his dwelling, and took his share of the paternal estate, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents. But though his fortune was considerable, his manner of living was more frugal and simple than ever. He formed a particular connection with Antipater of Tyre, the Stoic philosopher: and the knowledge he was the most studious of acquiring was the moral and the political. He carried to every virtue with an impulse like inspiration; but his greatest attachment was to justice, and justice of that steady and inflexible kind which is not to be wrought upon by favour or compassion.¹ He cultivated also that eloquence which is fit for popular assemblies; for as in a great city there should be an extraordinary supply for war, so in the political philosophy he thought there should be a provision for troublesome times. Yet he did not declaim before a company, nor go to hear the exercises of other young men. And when one of his friends said, "Cato, the world finds fault with your silence;" he answered, "No matter, so long as it does not find fault with my life. I shall begin to speak when I have things to say that deserve to be known."

In the public hall called the *Porcian*, which was built by old Cato in his censorship, the tribunes of the people used to hold their court. And, as there was a pillar which incommoded their benches, they resolved either to remove it to a distance, or to take it entirely away. This was the first thing that drew Cato to the *rostra*, and then it was against his inclination. He opposed the design effectually, and gave an admirable specimen, both of his eloquence and spirit. For there was nothing of youthful sallies or finical affectation in his oratory; all was rough, sensible, and strong. Nevertheless, amidst the short and solid turn of his discourse, there was a grace that engaged the ear; and with the gravity which might be expected from his manners, there was something of humour and raillery intermixed, which was agreeable effect. His voice was loud enough to be heard by such a multitude of people, and his strength was such, that he often spoke a whole day without being tired.

After he had gained his cause, he returned to his former studies and silence. To strengthen his constitution, he used the

¹ Cicero, in his oration for Murena, gives us a true stile upon these maxims of the virtues which Cato made the rule of

his life, and which, as he observe, were only fit to flourish within the portico.

laborious exercise. *He accustomed himself to go bareheaded in the hottest and coldest weather, and travelled on foot all seasons of the year.* His friends, who travelled with him, made use of horses, but he joined sometimes one, sometimes another, for conversation; he went along. His time of sickness, his patience of abstinence was extraordinary. He happened to have a fever, he spent the whole day alone, suffering no person to approach till he found a sensible change for the better.

At entertainments they threw the dice for the choice of the incenses; and if Cato lost the first choice, his friends used to treat him; but he always refused it; "Venus," said he, "forbids." At first he used to rise from table after having drunk; but in process of time he began to love drinking, and would sometimes spend the whole night over the bottle. His friends excused him by saying, "That the business of the state employed him all day, and left him no time for conversation, and therefore he spent his evenings in discourse with the philosophers." And, when Memmius said in company, "That Cato spent whole nights in drinking," Cicero retorted, "But you cannot say that he spends whole days at play."

Cato saw that a great reformation was wanting in the manners and customs of his country, and for that he determined to go contrary to the corrupt fashions which then obtained. He observed (for instance) that the richest and most lively purple was the thing worn, and therefore he went in black. Nay, he often appeared in public after dinner bare-footed and without his gown. Not that he affected to be talked of for that singularity; but he did it by way of learning to be ashamed of nothing but what was really shameful, and not to regard what depended only on the estimation of the world.

A great loss falling to him by the death of a cousin-german of the same name, he turned it into money, to the value of 100 talents; and when any of his friends wanted to borrow a sum, he lent it without interest. If he could otherwise supply them, he suffered his own and slaves to be mortgaged for them to his treasury.

He knew no other before his marriage; and when he thought himself of a proper age to enter into that state, he made a treaty on foot with Lepida, who had before been contracted to Metellus Scipio, but, upon Scipio's breaking the engagement, she was at liberty. However, before the marriage could take place, Scipio repented; and by the assiduity of his management and address, succeeded with the lady. Provoked at this ill treatment, Cato was desirous to seek law for redress; and, as his friends overruled him in that respect, youthful resentment put him upon writing some *iambics* against Scipio, which contained all the keenness of Archilochus, without obscenity and scurrility.

¹ The most fashionable cast upon the dice was called *Venus*. Hence alludes to it, *Ode vii. lib. 2.*

this, married Atilia, the daughter of Soranus, was the first, but the only woman he ever knew. In this respect, Lælius, the of Scipio Africanus, happier ;¹ for in the of long life he had only one wife, and with any

 servile (I mean that with Spartacus) general ; and Cato served in it as a volunteer, for brother Cæpio, who tribune ; he could distinguish vivacity and courage he wished, because ill elucted. However, amidst the effeminacy luxury which prevailed in the army, he paid so much regard to discipline, and, when occasion , behaved much spirit valour as well coolness and capacity, that appeared in the least inferior Cato the Censor. Gellius made him an offer of best military rewards and honours ; but he would not or allow of them ; "For," said he, "I have done nothing that deserves such notice."

These things made him pass for a man of a strange and singular turn. Besides, when a law made, that man who solicited any office should take *nomenclators* with him, he was the only one that obeyed it ; for when he applied for a tribune's commission in the army, he had previously made himself master of the names of all the citizens. Yet for this was envied, even by those who praised him. The more they considered the excellence of conduct, the pain it gave to think how hard it to imitate.

With a tribune's commission was sent into Macedonia, where Rubrius the prætor commanded. His wife, upon his departure, was in great distress, and we are told that Munatius, a friend of Cato's, in order to comfort her, said, "Take courage, Atilia ! I will take of your husband." "By means," answered Cato. At the end the first day's march, after they supped, said, "Come, Munatius, that you may the better perform your promise to Atilia, shall not leave me either day night." In of which, he ordered two beds in tent, and made pleasant improvement upon the matter ; for, Munatius always slept by him, it he that took of Cato, but Cato that took of him.

Cato had with him fifteen slaves, two freedmen, and four of his friends. These rode on horseback, and he always went foot ; yet he kept up with them and conversed with them by . When joined army, which consisted of several legions, Rubrius gave him command of . In this post thought it nothing great or extraordinary to be distinguished by his own virtue only ; ambition to make all the troops th^e under his care like himself. With view he lessened nothing of that authority which might inspire fear, but he called in support of

¹ Plutarch seems to me to have spoken so feelingly of the happiness of the con-

jugal connection long because one after another with it in his own experience

reason to its assistance. *By instruction and persuasion, as well as by rewards and punishments, he formed them well, that he could say whiches his troops were more peaceable, or warlike, or valiant or just.* They were dreadful to their enemies, and courteous to their allies; and to dishonourable things, and ambitious of honest praise.

Hence, though honour and fame were not Cato's objects, they flowed in upon him; he was held in universal esteem, and had entirely the hearts of his soldiers. For whatever he commanded others to do, he the first did it himself. In his dress, his living, and marching, he resembled the private soldier rather than the officer; and the same time, in virtue, in dignity of mind, and strength of eloquence, he far exceeded him who had the name of general. By these he insensibly gained the affections of his troops. And, indeed, virtue does not imitate, except the person who gives the pattern be beloved as well as esteemed. Those who praise good without loving them, only pay a tribute to their name, but do not sincerely admire their virtue, nor have any inclination to follow their example.

At that time there lived at Pergamos a Stoic philosopher, named Athenodorus, and surnamed Cordylion, in great reputation for his knowledge. He was grown old, and had long resisted the applications of princes and other great men, who wanted to draw him to their courts, and offered him their friendship and very considerable appointments. Cato thence concluded that it would be in vain to write or send any messenger to him; and, as the laws gave him leave of absence for two months, he sailed to Asia, and applied to him in person, in confidence that his accomplishments would carry his point with him. Accordingly, by his arguments and the charms of his conversation, he drew him from his purpose, and brought him with him to the camp; he was happy and as proud of this success as he had made a valuable capture, he performed a glorious exploit, than those of Pompey and Lucullus, who were subduing the provinces and kingdoms of the East.

While he was with the army in Macedonia he had notice by letter that his brother Cæpio was fallen sick at Ænus in Thrace. The disease was extremely rough, and no large vessel he had ventured, however, from Thessalonica in a small boat, with his friends and three servants, and having very narrowly escaped drowning, arrived at Ænus just after Cæpio expired. On this occasion Cato showed the sensibility of a brother, rather than the fortitude of a philosopher. He wept, he groaned, he embraced his brother's body; and besides these and other tokens of his greatest sorrow, he spent much upon his funeral. The spices, rich robes that were burned with him were very expensive, and he erected a monument for him of Thasian marble in the forum at Ænus, which cost no less than eight talents.

Some of these things as little agreeable to the modesty and simplicity which Cato professed in general: but they were perceived, that with all his firmness and inflexibility, the

of pleasure, of terror, and importunity, he had great tenderness and sensibility in his [redacted]. Many cities and princes [redacted] presents of great value, to do honour to the obsequies, but he would [redacted] accept anything in money. [redacted] that he would receive [redacted] spices and stuffs, [redacted] those [redacted] only on condition of paying for them.

[redacted] was left co-heir with Capio's daughter, to his estate; but when they [redacted] divide it, [redacted] would [redacted] charge any part of the funeral expenses [redacted] her account. Yet, though [redacted] acted so honourably in that affair, and continued in the [redacted] upright path, there [redacted] one [redacted] who scrupled not to write, that he passed his brother's ashes through a sieve, in search of the gold that might be melted down. Surely that writer thought himself above being [redacted] to account for his pen, [redacted] well [redacted] for his sword!

Upon [redacted] expiration of his commission, Cato was honoured [redacted] his departure, [redacted] only with [redacted] good wishes for his health and praises of his conduct, but with tears and the [redacted] affectionate embraces; [redacted] soldiers spread their garments in his way, and kissed [redacted] hand; instances of [redacted] which few generals [redacted] with from the Romans in those times.

But before he returned to Rome, to apply for a share in the administration, he resolved to visit Asia, and see with his [redacted] eyes the manners, customs, and strength of every province. At the [redacted] time he was willing [redacted] oblige Deiotarus king of Galatia, who, on account of [redacted] engagement of hospitality that he had entered into with his father, had given [redacted] a very pressing invitation.

Early in the morning he [redacted] baker and his cook [redacted] the place where he intended to lodge the next night. These entered the town [redacted] very modest and civil manner, and if they found there no friend or acquaintance of Cato or his family, they took up lodgings for him, and prepared his supper, at an inn, without giving any [redacted] the least trouble. [redacted] there happened to be no inn, they applied to the magistrates for quarters, and [redacted] always satisfied with those assigned them. Very often they [redacted] not believed to be Cato's servants, but entirely disregarded, because they [redacted] not [redacted] the magistrates in a clamorous and threatening [redacted]: insomuch that their [redacted] arrived before they could procure lodgings. [redacted] was [redacted] still when Cato himself made [redacted] appearance, for the [redacted] seeing him sit down [redacted] the luggage, without speaking a word, took him for a [redacted] of a [redacted] and dastardly spirit. Sometimes, however, he [redacted] send for the magistrates, and say, "Wretches, why [redacted] you not learn a proper hospitality? You [redacted] all that apply to you Catos. Do [redacted] then by your [redacted] give those occasion [redacted] their authority, [redacted] only [redacted] pretend to [redacted] from [redacted] by violence what you give [redacted] so much reluctance."

[redacted] Syria, [redacted] told, he [redacted] with a humorous adventure. [redacted] he came to Antioch, he saw [redacted] of people ranged in good

order without ■ gates. On one side ■ way ■ the young ■ in their mantles, and ■ other the boys ■ their ■ attire ■ white robes, and had ■ heads ; these ■ priests and the magistrates. Cato imagining that this magnificent reception was intended to do ■ honour, began ■ angry with ■ servants, who ■ before, for not preventing such ■ compliment. Nevertheless, he desired his friends ■ alight, and ■ towards these Antiochians. ■ they ■ enough ■ spoken to, the ■ of ■ ceremonies, an elderly man, with ■ staff and ■ crown in his hand, addressed himself first ■ Cato, and without ■ much ■ saluting him, asked "How far Demetrius ■ behind ; and when he might ■ pected." Demetrius ■ Pompey's freedman ; and, as ■ eyes of all the world ■ then fixed upon Pompey, they paid more respect to this favourite of ■ than ■ had any right ■ claim. Cato's friends ■ seized with such a ■ of laughter that they could not ■ themselves ■ they passed through the crowd. Cato himself, in ■ confusion, cried out, "Alas ! poor city," ■ a word more. Afterwards, however, he used always ■ laugh when he told the story.

But Pompey took care to prevent the people of Asia from making any ■ mistakes of this ■ for ■ of knowing Cato. For Cato, when he came to Ephesus, going to pay his ■ to Pompey, ■ his superior in point of age and dignity, and as the commander of ■ great armies ; Pompey, seeing him ■ some distance, did not wait ■ receive ■ sitting, but ■ up ■ meet him, and gave him his hand ■ great cordiality. He said much, too, in commendation of his virtue while he was present, and spoke more freely in his praise when he was gone. Every one, after this, paid great attention to Cato, and he ■ admired for what before had exposed him ■ contempt : for they could ■ that his sedate and subdued conduct ■ the effect of his greatness of mind. Besides, it was visible ■ Pompey's behaviour to him was the consequence of respect rather than ■ and that, though he expressed his admiration of him when present, ■ glad when he was gone. For the other young Romans that ■ see him, he pressed much to stay and spend ■ time with him. To Cato ■ no such invitation ; but, ■ if he thought himself under ■ restraint in ■ proceedings while ■ stayed, readily dismissed him. However amongst ■ the Romans who returned ■ Rome, ■ Cato only he recommended ■ wife and children, who indeed ■ rela-

■ fame ■ going before him, the cities in ■ way strove which should ■ him ■ honour, by invitations, entertainments, and every other mark of regard. On these occasions, Cato used to desire his friends ■ look well to him, lest he should ■ good ■ saying of Curio. Curio, who was one of his particular friends and companions, but disapproved his austerity, asked ■ one day, "Whether ■ inclined ■ Asia when ■ of service ■ expired ?" Cato answered, "Yes, by ■ means." Upon which

Curio said, "It is well ; you will return a little more practicable : " using an expressive Latin word to that purpose.

Deiotarus, king of Galatia, being far advanced in years, for Cato, a design to recommend his children, all his family, to his protection. As soon as he came, he offered him a variety of valuable presents, and urged him strongly to accept them ; which importunity so much displeased him, that though he was in the evening, he stayed only that night, and went away at the third hour of the morning. After he had gone on a day's journey, he met Pessinus a great number of presents, with letters entreating him to receive them ; " or if you will not accept them," Deiotarus, " at least permit your friends to take them, who deserve some reward for their services, and yet cannot expect any of your own estate." Cato, however, would give them no such permission though he observed that some of his friends had a longing eye that way, and were visibly chagrined. "Corruption," said he, "will be my pretence. But you must share with me whatever I may get with justice and honour." He therefore sent Deiotarus his presents back.

When he was taking ship for Brundisium, his friends advised him to put Curio's remains on board another vessel ;¹ but he declared, "He would sooner part with his life than with them ;" and he set sail. It is said, the ship he was in happened to be in great danger, though all the rest had a tolerable passage.

After his return to Rome, he spent his time either in conversation with Athenodorus at home, or in the forum in the service of his friends. Though he was of a proper age (24 years) to offer himself for the quaestorship, he would not solicit it till he had qualified himself for that office, by studying all the laws relating to it, by making inquiries of such as were experienced in it ; and thus gaining a thorough knowledge of its whole intention and process. Immediately upon entering on it, he made a great reformation among the secretaries and other officers of the treasury. The public papers, and the rules of court, were what they were well versed in ; and the young quaestors continually coming into his direction, who were ignorant of the laws and records, the under officers took upon them not only to instruct, but to dictate to them ; in fact quaestors themselves. Cato corrected this abuse. He applied himself with great vigour to his business, and had not only the respect and honour, but thoroughly understood that belonged to that department. Consequently he made the secretaries only his servants, which they really were ; sometimes correcting wilful abuses, and sometimes the mistakes they made through ignorance. As the license in which they lived had made them refractory, and they hoped to secure themselves by flattering the other quaestors, they boldly opposed Cato.

¹ From a superstition which came by them they imagined that a dead body on board a ship would raise a storm. Plutarch, by using the word *happened*

just below, shows that he did not give in to that superstitious notion, though too apt to do those things.

He therefore dismissed the principal of them, whom ■ had detected in a fraud in the division of ■■■■■. Against another ■ lodged an indictment for forgery. ■ defence ■■ undertaken by Lutatius Catulus, then censor ; ■ ■■ whose authority was not only supported by his high office, ■■ still more by his reputation ; for, ■ justice and regularity of life, he had distinguished himself above all the Romans of ■ time. ■ ■■ also a friend ■■ favourer of Cato, on account of ■■ upright conduct ; yet he opposed him in this cause. Perceiving he had ■■ right ■ his side, he ■■ ■■ entreaties ; but Cato would ■■ suffer him to proceed in that manner ; and, as he ■■ not desist, took occasion ■■ say, "It would ■■ a great disgrace for you, Catulus, who ■■ ■■ and inspector of ■■ lives and manners, to be turned ■■ of court by my lictors." Catulus gave him a look, ■■ ■■ intended to ■■ answer ; however, ■■ ■■ not speak ; ■■ through anger ■■ shame, he ■■ off silent, ■■ greatly disconcerted. Nevertheless, the ■■ ■■ ■■ condemned. As ■■ number of voices against him exceeded those for him by ■■ only, Catulus desired ■■ assistance of Marcus Lollius, Cato's colleague, who was prevented by sickness, from attending the trial ; but, upon his application, was brought in a litter into court, and gave the determining voice in favour of the defendant. Y ■■ Cato would ■■ restore him to his employment, or pay him his stipend ; for he considered the partial suffrage of Lollius ■■ a thing of ■■ account.

The secretaries thus humbled and subdued, he took the direction of the public papers and finances into his own hands. By these means, in a little time he rendered the treasury more respectable than the senate itself ; and it was commonly thought as well ■■ said, that Cato had given the quæstorship all the dignity of the consulate. For, having made it his business to find ■■ all the debts ■■ long standing due to ■■ public, and what the public ■■ indebted ■■ private persons, he settled these affairs in such a manner that the commonwealth could no longer either ■■ or suffer any injury in that respect ; strictly demanding and insisting ■■ payment of whatever ■■ owing to the state ; and at ■■ ■■ time, readily and freely satisfying all who had claims upon it. This naturally gained him ■■ among the people, when they ■■ many obliged ■■ pay who hoped ■■ to have been called ■■ account ; and many receiving debts which they had given ■■ as desperate. His predilection ■■ often, through interest or persuasion, ■■ ■■ ■■ ■■ ■■ pretended ■■ of senate ; but nothing of that kind escaped Cato. There was one order in particular, which he suspected to be forged, and though ■■ had many witnesses ■■ support it, ■■ would ■■ allow it till the consuls ■■ ■■ declared it upon oath.

There ■■ ■■ of assassins employed in the last proscription, ■■ whom Sylla ■■ given 12,000 *drachmas* for each ■■ they brought ■■ These ■■ ■■ by all the world ■■ ■■ most execrable villains ; yet no ■■ had ventured ■■ ■■ ■■ on ■■ Cato, however, summoned ■■ who ■■ received

public money for such unjust services, made them ; inveighing, at the time, with equal and severity against their impious and abominable deeds. These wretches, thus dis- and, as it were, prejudged, were afterwards indicted for before the judges, who punished them as they deserved. All ranks of people rejoiced these executions ; they thought they the tyranny rooted out these men, and Sylla himself capitally punished in the death of his ministers.

The people also delighted with his indefatigable diligence for he always the treasury before his colleagues, and the last left it. There no assembly of the people, meeting of senate, which he did not attend, in order keep watchful eye upon partial remissions of duties, and all grants. Thus, having cleared the exchequer of in- and all such vermin, and filled it with treasure, he showed that possible for Government be rich without oppressing the subject. At first this conduct of his very obnoxious to his colleagues, but in time it came to be agreeable, because, by refusing to give away any of the public money, or to make any partial determination, he stood the rage of disappointed avarice for them all ; and, to the importunity of solicitation they would answer, that they could do nothing without the consent of Cato.

The last day of his office he was conducted home by almost the whole body of citizens. But, by the way, he was informed that some of the principal men in Rome, who had great influence upon Marcellus, were besieging him in the treasury, and pressing him to make out an order sums which they pretended to be due to them. Marcellus, from his childhood, was a friend of Cato's, and a good quaestor while he acted with him ; but, when he acted alone, he too much influenced by personal regards for petitioners, and by a natural inclination to oblige. Cato, therefore, immediately turned back, and finding Marcellus already prevailed upon to make the order, he called for the registers, and erased it ; Marcellus all while standing by in silence. Not content with this, he took him out of the treasury, and led him his own house. Marcellus, however, not complain, either then or afterwards, but continued the friendship and intimacy with him to the last.

After the time of his quaestorship expired, Cato kept a watchful eye the treasury. had his there daily minuting down proceedings ; and he spent much time himself in perusing the public accounts from the time of Sylla ; a copy of which he had purchased for five talents.

Whenever the senate was summoned to meet, was the first to give attendance, last to withdraw ; oftentimes, slowly assembling, he would down read, holding his gown before his book ; nor would be out of when a house was called. Pompey finding that, all un- attempts, must find a kind carry, Cato, he had a point of kind carry,

in any way either the cause of some friend to plead, or arbitration, or other business to attend to. Cato soon perceived the snare, and rejected the applications of his friends; declaring, that, when they sat, he would undertake any other business. For his attention to the concerns of government was not like that of some others, guided by the views of honour or profit or left to chance or humour; he thought good he ought to be as solicitous about the public, as a bee is about her hive. For this reason his friends, and others with them, in all sections of the provinces, to give him of his edicts, and important decisions, and all the principal business transacted there.

He made a point of it to oppose Clodius the seditious demagogue, who was always proposing dangerous law, or some change in the constitution, or accusing the priests or vestals or the people. Fabia Terentia, Cicero's wife, and one of the vestals, was impeached among the rest, and in danger of being condemned. But Cato defended the cause of these injured people so well, that Clodius was forced to withdraw in great confusion, and leave the city. When Cicero came to thank him for this service, he said, "You must thank your country, whose utility is the spring that guides all my actions."

His reputation came to be so great that a certain orator, in a cause where only one witness was produced, said to the judges, "One man's evidence is not sufficient to go by, not even if it was Cato's." It grew, indeed, into a kind of proverb, when people speaking of strange and incredible things, to say, "I would not believe such a thing, though it were affirmed by Cato."

A man profuse in his expenses, and in all respects of a worthless character, taking upon him one day to speak in the senate in praise of temperance and sobriety, Ammeus stood up and said, "Who can endure to hear a man who eats and drinks like Crassus, and Lucullus, pretend to talk here of Cato?" Hence others, who were dissolute and abandoned in their lives, but preserved gravity and austerity in their discourse, came by way of ridicule to be called *Catos*.

His friends advised him to resign himself for the tribuneship; but he thought it not yet time. He said, "He looked upon an office of such power and authority as a violent medicine, which ought not to be used except in cases of great necessity." As, at that time, he had no public business to detain him, he took his books and philosophers with him, and went for Lucania, where he had lands, and an agreeable country retreat. By the way he went with a number of horses, carriages, servants, which he found belonged to Metellus Nepos, who was going to Rome to apply for the tribuneship. This put him to a stand; he remained some time in deep thought, and then gave his people orders to follow. To his friends, who were surprised at his conduct, "Know ye not," said he, "that Metellus is as stupid as even in stupidity? Remember, that he follows my counsels."

Pompey, [] [] [] [] prostrate before him ; [] that he [] fall [] and crush [] [] the force of a thunderbolt. *Is this [] a time for the pursuit of rural amusements ? Let us [] [] [] or die in their defence !*" Upon [] [] of his friends, however, he proceeded [] his farm ; and after a short stay there, returned [] the city. He arrived in [] evening, and early [] morning [] to the *forum*, as a candidate for the [] [] p, [] opposition [] Metellus ; for to oppose, [] [] of [] office ; and its power is chiefly negative : inasmuch, that [] dissent of a single voice is [] [] disannul [] [] in which [] whole assembly besides has concurred.

Cato [] first attended only by a small number of [] [] ; but, when [] intentions were [] known, he was immediately surrounded by [] of honour and virtue, the [] of his acquaintance, [] gave [] the strongest encouragement, and solicited him [] apply for the tribuneship, not [] it might imply a favour [] [] [] on himself, but [] it would be an honour and an advantage [] his fellow citizens ; observing, at the [] time, that though [] had [] frequently in his power to obtain this office without the trouble of opposition ; yet he now stepped forth, regardless, not only of that trouble, but even of personal danger, when the liberties of his country [] at stake. Such was the zeal and eagerness of the people who pressed around him that it was with the [] difficulty [] made his way to the *forum*.

Being appointed tribune, with Metellus amongst the rest, [] observed that great corruption had crept into the consular elections. On this subject he gave a severe charge to the people, which he concluded, by affirming [] oath, that he would persecute every [] that should offend in that way. He took care, however, that Silanus,¹ who had married his sister Servilia, should be excepted. But against Murena, who, by means of bribery, had carried the consulship [] the [] time with Silanus, he [] [] information. By the laws of Rome, the person accused has power [] set a guard upon him who lays the information, that he may have [] opportunity of [] [] a false accusation by private machinations before [] trial. When [] person that [] appointed Murena's officer, on [] occasion observed the liberal and candid conduct [] Cato ; that [] sought only to support [] information by fair and open evidence ; [] was [] struck with the excellence and dignity of his character, that [] would frequently wait upon him in [] *forum*, [] [] house, and, [] inquiring whether he should proceed that day in the business of the information, if Cato answered in the negative, he made no scruple [] leaving him.

¹ From this passage it should seem that Plutarch supposed Cato to be capable of officiating in family connections. But the fault lies rather in the historian than in the tribune. For, is it to be supposed that the pure virtue of Cato should descend to the most obnoxious circumstances of private life ? It is not possible

to have a stronger instance of his integrity than his refusing the alliance of Pompey the Great ; though that refusal was impolitic, and attended with bad consequences to the [] []

When trial on, Cicero, who consul, Muræna's advocate, by way of playing upon Cato, threw many pleasant things against the Stoics, and their paradoxical philosophy. This occasioned no small amongst the judges ; upon which Cato only observed a smile, those who stood him, that Rome a laughable consul. Muræna acted a very prudent part with regard to Cato ; for, though acquitted of the charge he brought against him, he nevertheless consulted him on all occasions importance during his consulship, respected him for his and virtue, and made of his counsels in the administration of government. For Cato, the bench, the rigid dispenser of justice : though in private society, he was affable and humane.

Before appointed tribune in the consulship of Cicero, he supported the supreme magistrate in a very reasonable manner, by many excellent during the turbulent times of Catiline. It known that this man meditated nothing less than a total subversion of the Roman state ; and that, by the spirited counsels and conduct of Cicero, he was obliged fly from Rome without effecting his purpose. But Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest of the conspirators, after reproaching Catiline for his timidity, and the feebleness of his enterprises, resolved to distinguish themselves least more effectually. Their scheme was nothing less than to burn the city, and destroy the empire, by the revolt of the colonies and foreign. Upon the discovery of this conspiracy, Cicero called a council ; and the first that spoke was Silanus. He gave it as his opinion, the conspirators should be punished with the utmost rigour. This opinion was adopted by the rest till it to Caesar. This eloquent man, consistent with whose ambitious principles it was rather to encourage than to suppress any threatening innovations, urged, in his usual persuasive manner, the propriety of allowing the accused the privilege of trial ; and that the spirators should only be taken into custody. The senate, who under apprehensions from the people, thought it prudent into this measure ; and Silanus retracted, and declared he thought of nothing than imprisonment, that being the most rigorous punishment a citizen of Rome could suffer.

This change of sentiment in those who spoke first followed by the rest, who all gave into milder Cato, who of a contrary opinion, defended that opinion with greatest vehemence, eloquence, and energy. He reproached Silanus for his pusillanimity in changing his resolution. He attacked Caesar, and charged him with a design of subverting the government, under the plausible appearance of mitigating speeches and a humane conduct ; of intimidating by the same means, even where he had to fear for himself, and wherein might think himself happy if could be exempted every imputation and suspicion of guilt : he, who had openly and daringly attempted from justice enemies of the state ; and shown, that so far from having any compassion for country,

when on ■ brink of destruction, he could ■ pity ■ plead ■ the wretches, the unnatural wretches, who meditated its ruin, and grieve that their punishment ■ prevent their design. This, ■ is said, is the only oration of Cato that is extant. *Cicero had selected a number of the swiftest writers, whom he had taught the art of abbreviating ■ by characters, and had placed them in different parts of the senate-house. Before his consulate, they had no short-hand writers.* Cato carried his point; and it ■ decreed, agreeably ■ his opinion, that the conspirators should ■ capital punishment.

As it is our intention ■ exhibit an ■ picture of ■ mind and ■ of Cato, the least circumstance that may contribute to mark them should not escape our notice. While he ■ warmly contesting his point with Cæsar, and the eyes of the whole ■ were upon the disputants, it is said that a billet was brought in and delivered to Cæsar. Cato immediately suspected, and charged him with some traitorous design; and it was moved in the senate, that the billet should be read publicly. Cæsar delivered it to Cato, who stood near him; and the latter had no sooner cast his eye upon it than he perceived it ■ be the hand of his own sister Servilia, who ■ passionately in love with Cæsar, by whom she had been debauched. He therefore threw it back to Cæsar, saying, "Take it, you sot," and went on with his discourse. Cato was always unfortunate ■ the women. This Servilia was infamous for her commerce with Cæsar; and his other ■ was in still ■ repute; for though married ■ Lucullus, ■ of the first men in Rome, by whom she also ■ a son, she was divorced for her insufferable irregularities. But what ■ most distressing to Cato was, that the conduct of his own wife Attilia, ■ by ■ unexceptionable; and that, after having brought him two children, he ■ obliged to part with her.

Upon his divorce from Attilia, he married Martia, ■ daughter of Philip, a ■ of good character; but this part of Cato's life, like the plots in the drama, is involved and intricate. Thræseus, upon the authority of Munatius, Cato's particular friend, who lived under the ■ roof with him, gives us this ■ of the matter. Amongst ■ friends and followers of Cato, ■ made a ■ open profession of their sentiments than others. Amongst these was Quintus Hortensius, a man of great dignity and politeness. N ■ contented merely with the friendship of Cato, he was desirous of a family alliance with him; and for this purpose, he scrupled ■ ■ request that ■ daughter Portia, who was already married ■ Bibulus, by whom ■ had two children, might be lent to him, ■ fruitful soil for the ■ of propagation. The thing itself, ■ owned, ■ uncommon, but by no means unnatural or improper. For why should a woman in ■ flower of her age, either continue useless, till she is past child-bearing, or overburden ■ husband ■ too large a family? The mutual ■ of women, ■ added, in virtuous families, would ■ only increase ■ virtuous offspring, but strengthen and extend the connections of society. Moreover, ■

unwilling wholly to give his wife, she restored done honour of an alliance Cato by her pregnancy. Cato answered, that the great regard for the friendship of Hortensius, but could of his application for another man's wife. Hortensius, however, would give up the point here: but when he could not obtain Cato's daughter, he applied for his wife, saying, that she yet a young woman, Cato's family already large enough. could not possibly make request upon a supposition Cato regard for his wife; for she that very time pregnant. Notwithstanding, the latter, when he observed the violent inclination Hortensius had to be to him, did absolutely refuse him; but said it necessary to consult Martia's father, Philip, on the occasion. Philip, therefore, applied to, and daughter was espoused Hortensius in the presence and with consent of Cato.

When the conspirators executed, and Cæsar, who, on account of his calumnies in the senate, was obliged to throw himself the people, had infused a spirit of insurrection into the and lowest of the citizens, Cato, being apprehensive of the consequences, engaged the senate to appease the multitude by a free gift of corn. This cost 1,250 talents a year; but it had the desired effect.¹

Metellus, upon entering on his as tribune, held several seditious meetings, and published an edict, that Pompey should bring his troops into Italy, under the pretext of saving the city the attempts of Catiline. Such was the pretence; but his design to give up the state into the hands of Pompey.

Upon the meeting of the senate, Cato, instead of treating Metellus with his usual asperity, expostulated with great mildness, and had entreaty, intimating, time, that his family had stood in the interest of the nobility. Metellus, who imputed Cato's mildness to his fears, the insolent that account, and most audaciously asserted he would carry his purpose into execution, whether the would. The voice, the air, the attitude of Cato, changed a moment; and, with the force of eloquence, he declared, "That while he living, Pompey should never armed into the city." The neither approved of the conduct of Cato, of. The latter they considered as a desperate profligate madman, who had no other aim than that of general destruction and confusion. The virtue of Cato they looked upon as a kind of enthusiasm, which would lead in the of injustice and the laws.

the people to vote for this edict, a number of aliens,

¹ This is almost one-third more than the sum said to have been expended in the same distribution in the life of Cæsar; and even there it is incredibly large. But whatever might be the expense, the policy

was wise; for nothing so effectually weakens the hands of government as the method of bribing the population, and treating them as injudicious wretches to browbeat children

gladiators, and slaves armed by Metellus, appeared in the *forum*. He was also followed by several of the commons, who wanted to introduce Pompey, in hopes ■■■ a revolution; and his ■■■ strength ■■■ by the pratorial power of Cæsar. Cato, on ■■■ other hand, had the principal citizens on ■■■ side; but they ■■■ ■■■ in the injury, than auxiliaries in the removal of it. The danger ■■■ which he ■■■ exposed was now so great that ■■■ family ■■■ under the ■■■ ■■■. The greatest part of ■■■ friends ■■■ relations ■■■ ■■■ house in the evening, and passed the night without either eating ■■■ sleeping. His ■■■ and sisters be- ■■■ ■■■ misfortunes with tears, while he ■■■ ■■■ passed the evening with the ■■■ confidence and tranquillity, encouraging the ■■■ ■■■ imitate his example. ■■■ supped ■■■ ■■■ to rest as usual; and slept soundly till he ■■■ awaked by ■■■ colleague Minutius Thermus. ■■■ went ■■■ the *forum*, accompanied by few, but ■■■ by many, who advised ■■■ ■■■ take ■■■ of ■■■ person. When he ■■■ the temple of Castor surrounded by armed men, the steps occupied by gladiators, ■■■ Metellus himself seated on ■■■ eminence with Cæsar, turning to his friends, "Which," said he, "is ■■■ contemptible, the savage disposition, or the cowardice, of him who brings such ■■■ army against a ■■■ who is naked and unarmed?" Upon this, he proceeded to the place with Thermus. Those who occupied the steps ■■■ back to make way for him; but would suffer ■■■ ■■■ else to pass. Munatius only with some difficulty ■■■ drew along with him; and, as soon ■■■ he entered, he ■■■ ■■■ between Cæsar and Metellus, that he might, by that means, prevent their discourse. This embarrassed them not a little; and what added to ■■■ perplexity, was the countenance and approbation that Cato met with from all the honest men that were present, who, while they admired his firm and steady spirit, so strongly marked in ■■■ aspect, encouraged him ■■■ per- ■■■ in the ■■■ of liberty, and mutually agreed to support him.

Metellus, enraged at this, proposed to read the edict. Cato put in his negative; and that having no effect, he wrested ■■■ out of his hand. ■■■ then attempted to spe ■■■ from memory; but Thermus prevented him by putting his hand upon his mouth. When he found this ineffectual, and perceived that the people ■■■ ■■■ over ■■■ the opposite party, he ordered his armed men ■■■ make a riot, and throw the whole into confusion. Upon ■■■ the people dispersed, and Cato ■■■ left alone, exposed to ■■■ of sticks and stones. But Marius, though the ■■■ ■■■ lately an in- formation against him, would not desert him. ■■■ defended ■■■ with his gown from the danger to which ■■■ exposed; ■■■ the mob ■■■ desist from their violence, and ■■■ length carried him ■■■ in ■■■ arms into ■■■ temple of Castor. When ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ benches deserted, and ■■■ adversary put ■■■ the rout, ■■■ imagined he ■■■ gained ■■■ point, and again very modestly proceeded to confirm the edict. The adversary, however, quickly rallied, and advanced with ■■■ of ■■■ greatest courage and confidence. Metellus's party, supposing that, by some means, they had got

was thrown into confusion, immediately to flight. Upon dispersion of these, Cato came forward, and, by his encouragement applause, a considerable party against Metellus. The senate voted that Cato should, in all events, be supported; and that an edict, so pregnant with everything that was pernicious to order and good government, and had even a tendency to civil war, should be opposed with the utmost rigour.

He still maintained his resolution; but finding that by the unconquered spirit of Cato, he suddenly into the open court, rebled the people, said everything that he thought might render Cato odious to them; and declared, that he would have nothing to do with the arbitrary principles of that man, in his conspiracy against Pompey, whose disgrace Rome might one day have occasion to repent.

Upon this he immediately set off for Asia to carry an account of these proceedings to Pompey. And Cato, by ridding the commonwealth of this troublesome tribune, and crushing, as it were, in him, the growing power of Pompey, obtained the highest reputation. But what made him still more popular was his prevailing on the senate to desist from their purpose of voting Metellus infamous, and divesting him of the magistracy. His humanity and moderation in not insulting a vanquished enemy, were admired by the people in general; whilst men of political sagacity could see that he thought it prudent not to provoke Pompey too much.

Soon afterwards, Lucullus returned from the war, which being concluded by Pompey, gave that general, in some measure, the laurels; and being rendered obnoxious to the people, through the impeachment of Caius Memmius, who opposed him from a view of making his court to Pompey than any personal hatred, he was in danger of losing his triumphs. Cato, however, partly because Lucullus was allied to him by marrying his daughter Servilla, and partly because he thought the proceedings unfair, opposed Memmius, and by that means exposed himself to great obloquy. But though divested of his tribunitial office, and of a tyrannical authority, he had full credit enough to banish Memmius from the senate and from the lists. Lucullus, therefore, having obtained his triumph, attached himself to Cato, as to the strongest bulwark against the power of Pompey. When that great man returned from the war, confident of his interest at Rome, from the magnificent reception he everywhere met with, he proposed not to send a requisition to the senate, that they would defer the election of consuls till his arrival, that he might support Piso. Whilst they were in doubt about the matter, Cato, not because he was under any concern about deferring the election, but that he might intercept the hopes and attempts of Pompey, remonstrated against it, and carried it in the negative. Pompey was much disturbed by this; and concluding, that, if Cato was his enemy, he was a great obstacle to his designs, he sent Cato's nephew Munatius, and commissioned him to marry two of Cato's nieces in marriage; the elder for himself, and the younger for his son.

say that they Cato's nieces, but daughters. that may, when Munatius opened his commission Cato, in presence of his wife and sisters, the a delighted splendour of the alliance. But Cato, moment's hesitation, answered, "Go, Munatius; go, and tell Pompey, that Cato is not be caught in a female snare. Tell him, the same time, that I sensible of the honour does me; and whilst he ought to do, I shall have that friendship for him which is superior to affinity; but I never give hostages, against my country, to the glory of Pompey." The women, it is natural suppose, were chagrined: and the friends of Cato blamed the severity of his Pompey after him an opportunity of vindicating his conduct, by open bribery in a consular election. "You now," Cato the women, "what would have been the consequence of my alliance with Pompey. I should have had my share in the aspersions that thrown upon him," and they owned that he acted right. However, if one ought judge the event, it is clear Cato did wrong in rejecting the alliance of Pompey. By suffering it to devolve to Cæsar, the united power of those two great men to overturn the Roman Empire. *The commonwealth is effectually destroyed.* But this would have been the case, had not Cato, whom the slighter faults of Pompey were obnoxious, suffered him, by thus strengthening his hands, to commit greater crimes. These consequences, however, only impending at the period under our review. When Lucullus had a dispute with Pompey, concerning their institutions in Pontus (for each wanted confirm his own), as the former evidently injured, he had the support of Cato; while Pompey, his junior in senate, in order increase his popularity, proposed Agrarian law in favour of the army. Cato opposed it, and it rejected; in consequence of which Pompey attached himself to Clodius, the violent and factious of the tribunes: and much about the time contracted alliance with Cæsar, which Cato in led the way. Cæsar, his from Spain, was a candidate for the consulship, and demanded a triumph. as laws of required that those who for the supreme magistracy should sue in person; and those who triumph should be without the walls; petitioned the senate that might allowed to for the consulship by proxy. The senate in general agreed to oblige Cæsar; and when Cato, the only who opposed it, found this to be the case, as as it to turn, he spoke the day long, and thus prevented the doing of any business. Cæsar, therefore, the triumph, city, applied consulship the interest of Pompey. soon as was appointed consul, he married Julia; and as they had both entered into a league against the commonwealth, one proposed for distribution of amongst poor, and other seconded proposal. Lucullus Cicero, in conjunction with Bibulus,

other consuls, opposed it. ■■■ Cato in particular, who suspected ■■■ pernicious consequences of Cæsar's connection with Pompey, ■■■ against the motion; and said it ■■■ the distribution of lands that he feared so much as the rewards which the cajolers ■■■ the people might expect from their favours.

In this ■■■ only ■■■ agreed with him, but ■■■ of ■■■ people too, who ■■■ reasonably offended by the unconstitutional ■■■ of Cæsar. For whatever the maddest and ■■■ violent of ■■■ tribunes proposed for the pleasure of the mob, Cæsar, ■■■ pay ■■■ abject ■■■ to them, ratified by the consular authority. When he found ■■■ motion, therefore, likely to be overruled, his party had recourse ■■■ violence, pelted Bibulus the consul with dirt, ■■■ broke ■■■ rods of his *lictors*. At length, when darts began ■■■ be thrown, and many ■■■ wounded, the ■■■ of the ■■■ as ■■■ possible ■■■ of the *forum*. Cato was the last who ■■■ it; and, as he walked slowly along, he frequently looked back, and execrated the wickedness and madness of the people. The Agrarian law, therefore, ■■■ not only passed, but they obliged the whole ■■■ ■■■ take ■■■ oath that they would confirm and support it; and those that should refuse were sentenced to pay a heavy fine. Necessity brought most of them into the ■■■; for they remembered the example of ■■■ Numidicus, who ■■■ banished ■■■ refusing to comply, in a similar instance, with the people. Cato was solicited by the tears of the female part of his family, and the entreaties of his friends, to yield and take ■■■ oath; but what principally induced him was ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ expostulations of Cicero; who represented to him, that there might not be so much virtue ■■■ he imagined ■■■ one man's dissenting from ■■■ decree that ■■■ established by the rest of the senate: that to expose himself to certain danger, without even the possibility of producing any good effect, was perfect insanity; and, what was still worse, ■■■ leave the commonwealth, for which he had undergone so many toils, to the mercy of innovators and usurpers, would look as if he were weary, at last, of his patriotic labours. Cato, he added, might do without Rome; but Rome could ■■■ do without Cato: ■■■ without him: himself could ■■■ dispense with ■■■ assistance and support, while the audacious Clodius, by ■■■ of ■■■ tribunitial authority, ■■■ forming the ■■■ dangerous ■■■ against him. By these, and ■■■ like remonstrances, solicited at home, and in the *forum*, Cato, ■■■ said, ■■■ with difficulty prevailed ■■■ the oath; ■■■ that, ■■■ Favonius excepted, ■■■ the last that took it.

Elated with this success, Cæsar proposed another act for distributing almost the whole province of Campania amongst the poor. Cato alone opposed it. And though Cæsar ■■■ragged■ him ■■■ the bench, ■■■ conveyed ■■■ prison, ■■■ omitted not, nevertheless, to speak as he passed in defence of liberty, to enlarge upon the consequences of the ■■■, and to exhort the citizens ■■■ put a stop to such proceedings. The senate, with heavy hearts, and all ■■■ virtuous part of ■■■ people, ■■■ Cato, with silent indignation.

Cæsar was inattentive to the public discontent that this proceeding occasioned ; but ambitiously expecting concessions on the part of Cato, he proceeded to conduct him to prison. At length, however, he found these expectations vain, unable any longer to support the shame which this conduct exposed him, instructed one of his tribunes to bring him his officers. The people, notwithstanding, brought into his interest by these public distributions, voted him the province of Illyricum and all Gaul, together with four legions, for the space of five years ; though Cato foretold them, at the same time, that they were voting a tyrant into the citadel of Rome. They immediately created Clodius, contrary to the laws (for he was of the patrician order), a tribune of the people, because they knew he would, in every respect, accede to their wishes with regard to the banishment of Cicero. Calpurnius Piso, the father of Cæsar's wife, and Aulus Gabinius,¹ a friend of Pompey's, were also chosen by those who knew best, they created consuls.

Yet, though they had everything in their hands, and had gained one part of the people by favour and the other by fear, still they were afraid of Cato. They remembered the pains it cost them to overbear him, and that the violent and compulsive measures they had recourse to did them but little honour. Clodius, too, thought he could not distress Cicero while supported by Cato ; yet this was his great object, and, upon entering his tribunitial office, he had an interview with Cato ; when, after paying him the compliment of being the most honest man in Rome, he proposed to him, as a testimony of his sincerity, the government of Cyprus, an appointment which he said had been solicited by many. Cato answered, that, far from being a favour, it was a treacherous scheme and a disgrace ; upon which Clodius fiercely replied, " It is your pleasure to go, it is mine that you shall go." And saying this, he immediately to the senate, and procured a decree for Cato's expedition. Yet he neither supplied him with a vessel, a soldier, or a servant, two secretaries excepted, of whom one was a notorious thief, and the other a client of his. Besides, the charge of Cyprus, and the opposition of Ptolemy were a sufficient task for him, he ordered him likewise to keep the Byzantine exiles. But his view in all this was to keep Cato as long as possible out of Rome.

Cato, thus urged to go, exhorted Cicero, who was at the same time closely hunted by Clodius, by no means to involve his country in a civil war, but to yield to the necessity of the times.

By means of his friend Canidius, whom he sent him to Cyprus, he negotiated with Ptolemy in such a manner, that he yielded without coming to blows ; for Cato taught him to understand, that he should live in a free or abject condition, that

¹ Plutarch does not mean to represent this friendship in any favourable light. The character of Gabinius was despicable.

In every respect, as appears from Cicero's mention of his name.

should be appointed high priest to Paphian Venus.¹ While negotiating, Cato stopped at Rhodes, waiting for Ptolemy's answer, making preparations for the reduction of island.

In the meantime Ptolemy, king of Egypt, who had Alexandria upon quarrel with his subjects, on his way to Rome, in order to solicit his re-establishment Caesar and Pompey, by the Roman. Being informed that Cato was at Rhodes, he, in hopes, would wait upon him. When messenger arrived, Cato, who then happened have physic, told him, that if Ptolemy wanted to see him, he might himself. When he came, Cato neither went forward to meet him, nor he so much to rise from his seat, but saluted him as he would do a common person, and carelessly bade him sit down. Ptolemy somewhat hurt by it at first, surprised to with such a supercilious severity of in a man of Cato's mean dress and appearance. However, when he entered into conversation concerning his affairs, when he heard his free and nervous eloquence, he easily reconciled him. Cato, it seems, blamed his impolitic application to Rome; represented to him the happiness he had left, and that he was about to expose himself to toils, the plague of attendance, and, what was still worse, to the avarice of the Roman chiefs, which the whole kingdom of Egypt, converted into money, would not satisfy. He advised him to return with fleet, and be reconciled to his people, offering him at the time his attendance and mediation; and Ptolemy, restored by representations, were, from insanity to reason, admired the discretion, and sincerity of Cato, and determined to follow his advice. His friends, nevertheless, brought him back to his former measures; but he no door of the magistrates of Rome than he repented of his folly, and blamed himself for rejecting the virtuous counsels of Cato, disobeying the oracle of a god.

Ptolemy of Cyprus, Cato's good would have it, took off by poison. As he was said to have left a full treasury, Cato being determined to go himself to Byzantium, his nephew Brutus to Cyprus, because he had not sufficient confidence in Canidius; when the exiles were reconciled to the of the citizens, and things quiet in Byzantium, proceeded to Cyprus. Here he found the royal furniture very magnificent in the articles of vessels, tables, jewels, and purple, all which he converted into ready money. In the management of he very exact, attended at the sales, the himself, and brought

every article to the [REDACTED] market. [REDACTED] would [REDACTED] to the common [REDACTED] of sale-factors, auctioneers, bidders, [REDACTED] his [REDACTED] friends; [REDACTED] private conferences [REDACTED] the purchasers, in which he urged them [REDACTED] higher, so that everything [REDACTED] [REDACTED] the greatest [REDACTED] By [REDACTED] means he gave offence to many of [REDACTED] friends, and almost implacably affronted [REDACTED] particular friend Munatius, Cæsar, too, in his oration against him, availed himself of [REDACTED] circumstance, and treated him very severely. Munatius, however, tells [REDACTED] this misunderstanding [REDACTED] not so much occasioned by Cato's distrust, [REDACTED] by [REDACTED] neglect of him, and by his [REDACTED] jealousy Canidius: for Munatius wrote memoirs of Cato, which Thræas [REDACTED] chiefly followed. [REDACTED] us, that he [REDACTED] amongst the last that arrived at Cyprus, and by that means found nothing but the refuse of the lodgings; that [REDACTED] to Cato's apartments, [REDACTED] refused admittance, because Cato [REDACTED] privately concerting [REDACTED] thing [REDACTED] Canidius; and that when he modestly complained of this conduct, [REDACTED] received [REDACTED] severe answer from Cato; who observed, with Theophrastus, that [REDACTED] much love [REDACTED] frequently the occasion of hatred; and that he, because of the strength of his attachment [REDACTED] him, [REDACTED] angry [REDACTED] the slightest inattention. He told him, at the same time, that he made [REDACTED] of Canidius [REDACTED] necessary agent, and because he had more confidence in him than in the rest, having found him honest, though he [REDACTED] there from the first, and had opportunities of being otherwise. This conversation, which [REDACTED] had in private with Cato, the latter he informs us related to Canidius; and when this came to [REDACTED] knowledge, he would neither attend [REDACTED] Cato's entertainments, nor, though called upon, assist at his councils. Cato threatened to punish him for disobedience, and, [REDACTED] is usual, [REDACTED] take a pledge from him.¹ Munatius paid [REDACTED] regard to it, but sailed for Rome, and long retained his resentment. Upon Cato's return, by [REDACTED] of Marcia, who [REDACTED] that time lived with her husband, he and Munatius [REDACTED] both invited to sup with Barca. Cato, [REDACTED] in after the rest of the company had taken their places, [REDACTED] where he should take his place? Barca answered, where [REDACTED] pleased. "Then," said he, "I will take my place by Munatius." He therefore took [REDACTED] place [REDACTED] him, but [REDACTED] showed him no other marks of friendship during supper; afterwards, however, [REDACTED] the request of Marcia, Cato wrote to him, [REDACTED] should be glad [REDACTED] him. He therefore waited [REDACTED] him [REDACTED] his own house, and being entertained by Marcia till the [REDACTED] of the morning visitors [REDACTED] gone, Cato came in and embraced him with great kindness. We have dwelt upon these little circumstances the longer, as, in [REDACTED] opinion, they contribute, no less than [REDACTED] public and important actions, towards the clear delineation of [REDACTED] and characters.

Cato [REDACTED] expedition [REDACTED] acquired nearly 7,000 [REDACTED] [REDACTED] being under [REDACTED] apprehensions [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] length of

1 When a magistrate refused a summons to the senate or public council, the [REDACTED] usually was to take some piece of furniture out of

his house, [REDACTED] to keep it till he [REDACTED] attend. This they called *ignora repus*.

his voyage, he provided a number of vessels that would hold two talents and hundred drachmas a-piece. To each of these he tied a long cord, at the end of which was fastened a large piece of cork, so that if any misfortune should happen to the ship that contained them, these buoys might mark the place where they lay. His whole treasure, however, except a very little, was conveyed in great safety. Yet his books of accounts, which he kept very accurate, were both lost; one by shipwreck with the freedman Targyru, and the other by the pirates of Corcyra; for the sailors, on account of the coldness of the weather, kept fires in the tents by night, and thus the misfortune happened. This troubled Cato, though Ptolemy's servants, whom he had brought over with him, were his vouchers for his conduct, against enemies and informers. For he intended these accounts merely as a proof of his honesty, but to recommend the same kind of accuracy and industry to others.

As soon as his arrival with the fleet was notified in Rome, the magistrates, the priests, the whole senate, and multitudes of people, went down to the river to meet him, and covered the banks, so that his reception was something like a triumph. Yet there was an ill-timed haughtiness in his conduct; for, though the consuls and prætors came to wait upon him, he did not so much as attempt to make the shore where they were, but rowed carelessly along in a royal six-oared galley, and did not land till he came into port with his whole fleet. The people, however, struck with admiration at the quantity of money which he carried along the streets, and the senate, in full assembly, bestowed the highest encomiums upon him, and voted him a prætorship extraordinary,¹ and the right of attending at the public shows in a prætexta, and purple-bordered gown. But these honours he thought proper to decline. At the same time he petitioned that they would grant his freedom to Nicias, an officer of Ptolemy's, in whose diligence and fidelity he gave his own testimony. Philip, the father of Marcia, was consul at that time, and his colleagues respected Cato less for his virtue than Philip might for his alliance, so that he had in his hands the whole consular influence in his hands. When Cicero returned from that province, which had been sentenced by Clodius, to an influence considerable, and he scrupled not, in the absence of Clodius, to pull down and destroy the tribunal edicts which the latter had put up in the Capitol. Upon the senate being assembled, and Cicero, upon accusation of Clodius, being in his defence, by alleging that he had not been legally appointed tribune, and that, in any case, every act of his was void and void. Cato interrupted him, and said, "That he was the whole administration of Clodius was wicked and absurd; but that if every act of his office were to be annulled, that he had done in Cyprus would stand for nothing, because his commission,

¹ Cato was then but 38 years of age, and consequently too young to be greater in

the ordinary way, in which a person could not enter on that office till he was forty.

issuing from a tribune not legally appointed, could not be valid ; Clodius, though he was of a patrician family, had been chosen tribune contrary to law, because he had previously been enrolled in the order of plebeians by an act passed for that purpose, and that, if he had acted unjustly in his office, he would be liable to personal impeachments, while at the same time the law remained its proper force and authority." This occasioned a quarrel at that time between Cicero and Cato, but afterwards they were reconciled.

Cæsar, upon his return out of Gaul, was met by Pompey and Crassus, and it was agreed that the two last should again stand for the consulship, that Cæsar should retain his government five years longer, and that the best provinces, revenues, and troops should be secured to themselves. *This was nothing less than a division of empire, and a plot against the liberties of the Romans.* This dangerous junction deterred many of distinguished rank from integrity from their design of offering themselves candidates for the consulship. Cato, however, prevailed on Lucius Domitius, who married his sister, not to give up the point, nor to resign his pretensions ; for that the law was not then for the consulship, but for the liberties of Rome. The sober part of the citizens agreed, too, that the consular power should not be suffered to be weakened by the union of Crassus and Pompey ; but that, at all events, they should be separated. Domitius encouraged and supported in the competition. They exhorted him, at the same time, that he would have the voices of many of the people, who were at present only silent through fear. Pompey's party, apprehensive of this, lay in wait for Domitius, as he went before day by torchlight into the *Campus Martius*. The torchbearer was killed at the first stroke ; the rest were wounded and fled, Cato and Domitius alone excepted ; for Cato, though he had received a wound in the arm, kept Domitius by his spot, and conjured him not to desert the cause of liberty while he had life, but to oppose to the utmost those enemies of their country, who showed what use they intended to make of that power which they sought by such execrable means.

Domitius, however, unable to stand the shock, retired, and Pompey and Crassus were elected consuls. Yet Cato lost nothing for lost, but solicited the prætorship for himself, that he might from thence, as from a kind of fort, militate against the consuls, and not contend with them in the capacity of a private citizen. The consuls, apprehensive that his prætorial power of Cato would be inferior even to the consular authority, suddenly assembled a small senate, and obtained a decree, that those who were elected prætors should immediately enter upon their office,¹ without waiting the usual time to stand the charge, if any such charge should be brought against them, of bribery or corruption.

¹ There was always a time allotted for nomination and possession ; that

if any undue means had been made use of in the canvass might be discovered.

By ■■■■ they brought ■■■■ own ■■■■ dependents, presided ■ the election, and ■■■■ money to the populace. Yet still the virtue of Cato could ■■■■ totally lose its weight. There ■■■■ those who ■■■■ honesty enough ■■■■ ashamed of selling his interest, and wisdom enough to think that ■■■■ would be of service ■■■■ the ■■■■ elect him, even ■■■■ the public expense. ■■■■ therefore ■■■■ nominated prætor ■■■■ by the votes of the first-called tribe ; but Pompey scandalously pretending that he heard it thunder, ■■■■ ■■■■ the assembly ; for ■■■■ is ■■■■ common for the Romans to do any business if it thunders. Afterwards by ■■■■ of bribery, ■■■■ by the ■■■■ clusion of the virtuous part of the citizens from the assembly, they procured Vatinius ■■■■ be returned prætor instead of Cato. Those electors, it is said, who voted from such iniquitous motives, like so many culprits, immediately ran away. To the ■■■■ that assembled and expressed their indignation, Cato ■■■■ empowered by one of the tribunes ■■■■ address himself in ■■■■ speech ; in the course of which he foretold, ■■■■ if inspired by some divine influence, all those evils that then threatened the commonwealth ; and stirred up the people against Pompey and Crassus, who, in the consciousness of their guilty intentions, feared the control of the prætorial power of Cato. In his ■■■■ home he was followed by a greater multitude than all that had been appointed prætors united.

When Caius Trebonius moved for the distribution of the consular provinces, and proposed giving Spain and Africa to one of the consuls, and Syria and Egypt to the other, together with ■■■■ and armies, and ■■■■ unlimited power of making war and extending dominion, the rest of the senate, thinking opposition vain, forbore ■■■■ speak against the motion. Cato, however, before it was put to the vote, ascended the rostrum, in order to speak, but he was limited to the space of two hours : and when he had spent this time in repetitions, instructions, and predictions, and ■■■■ proceeding in his discourse, the lictor took him down from the rostrum. Yet still, when below amongst the people, he persisted ■■■■ speak in behalf of liberty ; and the people readily attended to him, and joined in his indignation, till the consul's headle again laid hold of him, and turned him out of the *forum*. He attempted, notwithstanding, ■■■■ return ■■■■ his place, and excited the people to assist him ; which being done more than once, Trebonius, in ■■■■ violent rage, ordered him ■■■■ prison. Thither he ■■■■ followed by the populace, ■■■■ whom he addressed himself as ■■■■ went, till, ■■■■ last, Trebonius, through fear, dismissed him. Thus Cato ■■■■ rescued that day. But afterwards, the people being partly overawed, and partly corrupted, the consular party prevented Aquilius, one of ■■■■ tribunes, by force of arms, from coming out of the senate-house into the assembly, wounded many, killed some, ■■■■ thrust Cato, who said it thundered, out of the *forum*, so that the law was passed by compulsion. This ■■■■ Pompey so obnoxious, that the people ■■■■ were going ■■■■ pull down ■■■■ statues, but were prevented by Cato. Afterwards, when the law was proposed for the allotment of Cæsar's provinces, Cato, addressing himself particularly to

Pompey, with great confidence consider that he was taking Caesar upon his shoulders; but he began find weight, and could neither support it nor shake him off. they would both fall together, crush the commonwealth in their fall; and then should find, too late, that the counsels of Cato no less salutary for himself than intrinsically just. Yet Pompey, though often heard these things, in the confidence of his strength and power, despised them, and feared no danger from the part of Caesar.

The following year appointed prætor; but he can hardly be said to have contributed so much to the dignity of that high office by the rectitude of his conduct, as to have derogated from it by the simplicity of his dress; for he would often go to the prætorial bench without his robe or his shoes, and sit in judgment, upon capital cases, some of the first personages in Rome. Some will have it, that he passed sentence when he drank after dinner, but that is true. He was resolved to extirpate that extreme corruption which then prevailed amongst the people in elections of every kind; and, in order to effect this he moved that a law should be passed in the senate, for every candidate, though no information should be laid, to declare upon oath in what manner he obtained his election. This gave offence to the candidates, and to the more mercenary part of the people. So that, as Cato was going in the morning to the tribunal, he was much insulted and pelted with stones by the mob, that the whole court fled, and he with difficulty escaped into the rostrum. There he stood, and his firm and steady aspect soon hushed the clamours and disorders of the populace; so that when he spoke upon the subject, he was heard with a general silence.¹ The senate publicly testified their approbation of his conduct; but he answered, that no compliment could be paid to them at least for deserting the prætor, and declining to assist him when in manifest danger. This distressed the candidates considerably; for, on the one hand, they were afraid of giving bribes, and on the other, they were apprehensive of losing their election, if it should be done by their opponents. They thought it best, therefore, jointly, to deposit 500 sestertia each,² then to canvass in a fair and legal manner, and if they should be convicted of bribery, he should forfeit his deposit. Cato was appointed guarantee of this agreement, and the

¹ This circumstance in Cato's life affords a good comment on the following passage of Virgil, and some sense of that verse:—

*...is gravem se molitur
viriū quem,*

conveys a very strong and just idea of Cato

*Ac veluti magno in populo cum
perpe cunctis*

*...is, univertis ignobile
vulgus;*

*Jamque facies et æzza volent; furor
arma minuat,
Tunc, placide gravem et mortis et
sortis virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrestaque
vultibus adstant;
Ille regit dictis, animos et
suadet.*

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² Cato speaks of this agreement in the 4th of his oration to Africa.

money was to be lodged in his hands; but for this he accepted of sureties. On the day of election Cato stood. He presided, and, as he examined the votes, one of the depositing candidates appeared to have made use of fraud. He therefore ordered him to pay the money to the rest. But, after complimenting the integrity of Cato, they remitted the fine, and that the guilt was a just punishment. Cato, however, rendered himself obnoxious to many by this conduct, and displeased the legislative and judicial power. Indeed, he is hardly any authority so much exposed to envy as the latter, hardly any virtue so obnoxious as that of justice, owing to the popular weight and influence that always carries along with it. For though he who administers justice in a virtuous manner may not be respected as a man of valour, he is admired as a man of parts, yet integrity is always productive of love and confidence. Valour produces fear, and parts suspicion; they are distinctions, moreover, which are rather given than acquired. One arises from a natural acuteness, the other from a natural firmness of mind. However, as justice is a virtue so easily practicable and obtainable, the opposite vice is proportionably odious.

Thus Cato became obnoxious to the chiefs of Rome in general. But Pompey in particular, whose glory was to rise out of the ruins of his power, laboured with unwearied assiduity to procure impeachments against him. The incendiary Clodius, who had again entered the lists of Pompey, accused Cato of embezzling a quantity of the Cyprian treasure, and of raising an opposition to Pompey, because the latter had refused to accept of his daughter in marriage. Cato, on the other hand, maintained that though he was not so much supplied with a horse, or a soldier, by the government, yet he had brought more treasure to the commonwealth from Cyprus than Pompey had done from his provinces and triumphs in the harassed world. He asserted that he never wished for the alliance of Pompey, because he thought him unworthy, but because of the difference of their political principles. "For my own part," said he, "I rejected the province offered me as an appendage to my praetorship; but for Pompey, he arrogated some provinces to himself, and some he bestowed on his friends. Nay, he is now soliciting your consent, accommodated Caesar in Gaul with 6,000 soldiers. Such forces, armaments, horses, are now at his disposal of private property. Pompey retains the office of commander and general, while he delegates his legions to the provinces; and continues within the city to preside in elections, to arbitrate the mob, and to be a fabricator of sedition. From this conduct his principles are obvious. *It holds it but one step from anarchy to absolute power.*"¹ Thus Cato maintained his party against Pompey.

1 This maxim has been verified in almost every state. When ambitious men aimed

at absolute power, their first measure was to suspend the regular movements of the

Marcus Favonius was the friend and imitator of Cato, Apollodorus¹ said to have been of Socrates, whose discourses transported with even madness intoxication. Favonius stood for the office of ædile, and apparently but Cato, upon examining the votes, and finding written in the same hand, appealed against the fraud, and tribunes election. Favonius, therefore, elected, in discharge of the several offices of his magistracy assistance Cato, particularly in the theatrical entertainments that given to the people. In these Cato another specimen of himself; for he not allow the players and musicians of gold, but of olive, such as they in the Olympic games. Instead of expensive presents, gave Greeks beets and lettuces, and radishes and parsley; and the Romans he presented with jugs of wine, pork, figs, cucumbers, and faggots of wood. Some ridiculed the nature of his presents, while others were delighted in the relaxation from the usual severity. And Favonius, who appeared only as a common person amongst the spectators, and had given up the management of the whole Cato, declared the same to the people, and publicly applauded his conduct, exhorting him to reward merit of every kind. Curio, the colleague of Favonius, exhibited the time in the other theatre a very magnificent entertainment; but the people left him, and much more entertained with seeing Favonius act private citizen, and Cato of the ceremonies. It is probable, however, he took this upon him only to show the folly of troublesome and expensive preparations in matters of mere amusement, and that the benevolence and good humour suitable on such occasions should have better effect.

When Scipio, Hypsæus, and Milo, candidates for the consulship, and, beside the usual infamous practices of bribery and corruption, had recourse to violence and murder and civil war, it was proposed that Pompey should be appointed praetor of the election. Cato opposed this, and said that the laws should derive their security from Pompey, but that Pompey should owe his to the laws.

However, when the consular power had been long suspended, and the forum in measure besieged by the armies, Cato, that things might come to the worst, recommended to the people to confer that power on Pompey as a favour, with which his own influence would otherwise invest him; and by this make evil remedy for a greater. Bibulus, therefore, agent of Cato's, moved in the senate that Pompey should be created sole consul; adding, that his administration would either be the greatest service to the state, or that, at least, the commonwealth

constitutional government by throwing all into confusion, that they might ascend to monarchy as Æneas went to the Carthage, involved in a cloud.

¹ See Plato's *Protagoras*, and the beginning of the *Symposium*. This Apollodorus was nicknamed *Mentis* from his passionate

must have a master, he would have the satisfaction of being under the auspices of the greatest man in Rome. Cato, contrary to every one's expectation, seconded this motion, intimating that any government was preferable to anarchy, and that Pompey promised fair for a constitutional administration, and the preservation of the city.

Pompey being thus elected consul, invited Cato to his house in the suburbs. He received him with the greatest caresses, acknowledgments, and entreated him to assist in his administration, and to preside at his councils. Cato answered that he had neither formerly opposed Pompey out of private enmity, nor supported him out of personal favour; but that the welfare of the state had been his motive both: that, in private, he would assist with his counsel whenever he should be called upon; but that, in public, he should speak his sentiments, whether they might be in Pompey's favour or no. And he did so, as he said. For, soon after, when Pompey proposed severe punishments and penalties against those who had been guilty of bribery, Cato gave his opinion, that the past should be overlooked, and the future only adverted to; for that if he should scrutinise into former offences of that kind, it would be difficult to say where it would end; and should he establish penal laws, *ex post facto*, it would be hard that those who were convicted of former offences should suffer for the breach of those laws which were then not in being. Afterwards, too, when impeachments were brought against several persons of rank, and some of Pompey's friends amongst the rest, Cato, when he observed that Pompey favoured the latter, reproved him with great freedom, and urged him to the discharge of his duty. Pompey had enacted, that encomiums should no longer be spoken in favour of any prisoner at the bar; and yet he gave into the people a written encomium on Munatius Plancus,¹ when he was upon his trial; Cato, when he observed this, as he was one of the judges, stopped his ears, and forbade the apology to be read. Plancus, upon this, objected to Cato's being one of the judges; yet he was condemned notwithstanding. Indeed Cato gave the criminals in general small perplexity; for they were equally afraid of having him for their judge, and of objecting to him; in the latter case they were generally understood that they were unwilling to rely on their innocence, and by the same means were condemned. Nay, his object and judgment of Cato became a handle of accusation and reproach.

Cæsar, at the same time that he was prosecuting the war in Gaul, was cultivating his interest in the city by his friendship and munificence to the people. Pompey saw this, he was waked, as from a dream, by the warnings of Cato: yet he remained indolent; Cato, who perceived the political necessity of opposing Cæsar, de-

¹ Munatius Plancus, who in the Greek is by mistake called Plancus, was then one of the people. He was accused

by Clodius, and defended by Cato, but was ultimately condemned.

terminated himself to stand for the consulship, that he might thereby oblige him either to lay down his arms or discover his designs. Cato's competitors were both men of credit; but Sulpicius,¹ who was one of them, had himself derived great advantages from the authority of Cato. On this account, he was censured as ungrateful; though Cato was offended: "For what wonder," said he, "is it, that what a man esteems the greatest happiness he should give to another?" He procured an act in the senate, that no candidate should canvass by means of others. This exasperated the people; because it was at once the means of cultivating favour, and conveying bribes; and thereby rendered the lower order of citizens poor and insignificant. He was in consequence owing to this act that he lost the consulship; for he consulted his dignity much more than in a popular election himself, and his friends could then do it for him.

A repulse, in this case, is for some time attended with shame and sorrow both to the candidate and his friends; but Cato was little affected by it that he anointed himself to play at ball, and as usual after dinner with his friends in the forum, without his shoes or his tunic. Cicero, sensible how much Rome wanted such a consul, at once blamed his indolence, with regard to courting the people on this occasion, and his inattention to future success; where he had twice applied for the praetorship. Cato answered, that his ill success in the latter case was owing to the aversion of the people, but to the corrupt and compulsive measures used amongst them; whilst in his application for the consulship such measures could be used; and he was sensible, therefore, that the citizens were offended by those manners which it did not become a wise man either to change for their sakes, or by repeating his application, to expose himself to the same ill success.

Cæsar had, at this time, obtained many dangerous victories over the nations; and had subdued the Germans, though in peace with the Romans, and slain 300,000 of them. Many of the citizens, on this occasion, voted a public thanksgiving; but Cato was of a different opinion, and said, "That Cæsar should be given to the nations he had injured, that his conduct might bring a curse upon his city; yet the gods," he said, "ought to be thanked, notwithstanding, that the soldiers suffered for the madness and wickedness of their general, but that they had in mercy spared the state." Cæsar, upon this, wrote letters to the senate of invectives against Cato. When they were read, Cato was with great calmness, and in a speech, so regular that it was premeditated, said, that, with regard to the letters, as they contained nothing but a display of Cæsar's buffoonery, they deserved no answer; and then, laying open his whole plan of Cæsar's conduct, more than a friend who knew his bosom counsels than an enemy, he showed the senate that it was the Britons who

¹ The competitors were M. Claudius Marcellus, and Servius Sulpicius Rufus. The latter, according to Dion, was chosen

for his knowledge of the laws and the habits of the citizens.

Gauls they had to fear, but *Cæsar himself*. This alarmed them so much, ■■■ Cæsar's ■■■ were sorry they had produced the letters that occasioned it. Nothing, however, ■■■ then resolved upon : only ■■■ debated concerning the propriety of appointing a successor to Cæsar ; and when Cæsar's friends required, that, ■■■ case thereof, Pompey too should relinquish his army, and give up his provinces : "Now," cried Cato, "is coming ■■■ pass ■■■ that I foretold." It ■■■ obvious, that Cæsar will have ■■■ to arms ; ■■■ that the power which he ■■■ obtained by deceiving the people, ■■■ of ■■■ enslave them." However, Cato ■■■ but ■■■ influence ■■■ of ■■■ senate, for ■■■ people ■■■ bent on ■■■ dising Cæsar ; and ■■■ the senate, while convinced by the argument of Cato, was afraid of the people.

When the news was brought that Cæsar ■■■ taken Arminium, ■■■ was advancing with his army towards Rome, ■■■ people in general, ■■■ Pompey, cast their eyes upon Cato, ■■■ the only person who ■■■ foreseen ■■■ original designs of Cæsar. "Had ye then," said Cato, "attended to my counsels, you would neither ■■■ have feared the power of one man, ■■■ would it have been in one ■■■ that you should have placed your hopes." Pompey answered, that "Cato ■■■ indeed been a better prophet, but that he had himself acted a more friendly part." And Cato then advised the ■■■ to put everything into the hands of Pompey. "For the authors of great evils," he said, "know best how to remove them." As Pompey perceived that his forces were insufficient, and ■■■ the few that he had by no ■■■ hearty ■■■ cause, he thought proper to leave the city. Cato, being determined to follow him, sent his youngest son ■■■ Munatius, who was in ■■■ country of the Brutii, and ■■■ the eldest along with him. As ■■■ family, and particularly his daughters, wanted a proper superintendent, he took Marcia again, who ■■■ then a rich widow ; for Hortensius ■■■ dead, and had ■■■ her his whole ■■■ This circumstance gave Cæsar occasion ■■■ reproach Cato with ■■■ avarice, ■■■ to call him the ■■■ husband. "For why," said he, "did he part with her, if he had occasion for her himself ? And, if ■■■ had not occasion for her, why ■■■ take her again ? The reason ■■■ obvious. It was ■■■ wealth of Hortensius. He ■■■ young man ■■■ wife, that ■■■ might make her a rich widow." But, in answer to this, one need only quote that passage of Euripides,

Call Hercules a coward !

1 But was not this very impolitic in ■■■ Was it not a vain sacrifice to his ambition of prophecy ? Cæsar could not long remain unacquainted with what had passed in the senate : and Cato's observation on this occasion was not much more discreet than it would ■■■ to tell a madman, who ■■■ a flambeau ■■■ his hand, that he intended to burn a house. Cato, ■■■ our opinion, with all his virtues, contributed no less to the destruction of the common-

wealth than Cæsar himself. ■■■ did he idly exasperate ■■■ men, by objecting against a public thanksgiving for his victories ? There was a prejudice in ■■■ part ■■■ which had ■■■ the ■■■ of virtue to support it. Nor is more than probable, that it was out of spite to Cæsar that Cato gave the whole consular power to Pompey. It must be remembered that Cæsar has debauched Cato's ■■■

For ■ would be equally absurd ■ reproach Cato with covetousness ■ ■ would be to charge Hercules with ■ of courage. Whether ■ conduct of Cato ■ altogether unexceptionable in ■ affair ■ another question. However, as soon ■ ■ ■ remarried Marcia, ■ gave her the charge of his family, and followed Pompey.

From that time, it is said that he neither cut his hair, ■ shaved his beard, nor ■ a garland; but was uniform in his dress, as ■ his anguish for his country. On which side soever victory might for ■ while decree, he changed not ■ that account his habits. Being appointed ■ government of Sicily, ■ passed ■ Syracuse; and finding that Asinius Pollio was arrived ■ with ■ detachment from the enemy, he sent to him to demand the reason of his coming; but Pollio only answered his question by another, and demanded of Cato to know the ■ of the revolutions. When he ■ informed ■ Pompey had evacuated Italy, and was encamped ■ Thyrachium, "How mysterious," said he, "are the ways of Providence! When Pompey neither acted upon ■ principles of wisdom nor of justice, he was invincible; but ■ that he would save the liberties of his country, his good fortune seems to have forsaken him." Asinius, he said, he could easily drive out of Sicily; but as greater supplies ■ hand, he was unwilling ■ involve the island in war. He therefore advised the Syracusans ■ consult their safety by joining the stronger party; ■ soon after set sail. When he came ■ Pompey, his ■ sentiments were, that the war should be procrastinated in hopes of peace; for that, if they came to blows, which party soever might be successful, the event would ■ decisive against the liberties of ■ state. He also prevailed on Pompey, and the council of war, ■ neither any city subject to the Romans should be sacked, ■ any Roman killed, except in the field of battle. By this he gained great glory, and brought over many, by his humanity, to the inter- ■ of Pompey.

When he went into Asia for the purpose of raising men and ships, ■ took with him his sister Servilia, and a little boy that she had by Lucullus; for, since the death of her husband, she ■ lived with him; and this circumstance of putting herself under the eye of Cato, and of following him through the ■ discipline of camps, greatly recovered her reputation; yet Caesar ■ ■ ■ Cato ■ ■ her account.

Though Pompey's officers ■ Asia did ■ think that they ■ much need of Cato's assistance, yet he had brought ■ the Rhodians ■ their interest; and there leaving ■ sister Servilia and her son, ■ joined Pompey's forces, which were ■ ■ ■ respectable footing, both by sea and land. It was ■ ■ ■ sion ■ Pompey discovered his final views. At first, he intended to have given Cato the supreme naval command; and ■ ■ ■ no fewer than 500 ■ of war, ■ ■ infinite number of ■ galleys and tenders. Reflecting, however, or reminded by ■ friends, that Cato's great principle was ■ ■ occasions ■ rescue

commonwealth from the government of an individual ; that, if invested with so considerable a power himself, Caesar should be vanquished, he would oblige Pompey to lay down his arms, and submit to his laws ; he changed his intentions, though he had already mentioned them to Cato, and the command of the army to Bibulus. The zeal of Cato, however, was abated by his conduct. They were on the eve of Dyrrachium. Pompey himself addressed and encouraged his army, and ordered his officers to do the same. Their successes, notwithstanding, were coldly received. But when Cato rose and spoke, upon the principles of philosophy, concerning liberty, virtue, death, and glory ; when, by his impassioned action, he showed that he felt what he spoke, and that his eloquence took its glowing colours from his soul ; when he concluded with an invocation to the gods, as witnesses of their efforts for the preservation of their country ;—the plaudits of the army rent the skies, and the generals marched on in confidence of victory. They fought, and were victorious ; though Caesar's good genius availed him of the frigid caution and diffidence of Pompey, and rendered the victory incomplete. Amid the general joy that followed this success, Cato alone mourned over his country, and bewailed that fatal and cruel ambition which covered the field with bodies of citizens fallen by the hands of each other. When Pompey, in pursuit of Caesar, proceeded to Thessaly, and left in Dyrrachium a large quantity of arms and treasure, together with some friends and relations, he gave the whole in charge to Cato, with the command of 15 cohorts only ; for still he was afraid of his republican principles. If he should be vanquished, indeed, he knew Cato would be faithful to him ; but if he should be victor, he knew, at the same time, that he would permit him to reap the reward of conquest in the possession of absolute power. Cato, however, had the satisfaction of being attended by many illustrious persons in Dyrrachium.

After the overthrow of Pharsalia, Cato determined, in case of Pompey's death, to conduct the people under his charge to Italy, and then to retire into exile, far from the cognizance of the power of the tyrant ; but if Pompey survived, he resolved to keep his little forces together for him. With this design, he passed into Corcyra, where the army was stationed : and would there have resigned the command to Cicero, because he had been consul and himself only prætor. Cicero declined it, and sailed for Italy. Pompey the Younger resented this defection, and was about to lay violent hands on Cicero and others, but Cato prevented him by private expostulation ; and saved both of Cicero and himself.

Cato, upon a supposition that Pompey would go into Egypt or Libya, prepared to follow him, with a little force, after having given him such advice as he chose it, the liberty of staying behind. As soon as he had reached the African coast, he met Sextus, Pompey's younger son, who acquainted

him with the death of ~~his son~~. This greatly ~~grieved~~ little band ; but as Pompey was no more, they unanimously resolved ~~to~~ have ~~no~~ other leader than Cato. Cato, ~~of~~ of compassion ~~and~~ honest ~~and~~ that had put their confidence in him, and because ~~he~~ would not leave them destitute ~~of~~ a foreign country, took upon him the command. He ~~was~~ made for Cyrene, ~~and~~ received by the people, though they ~~had~~ before shut their gates against Labienus. Here he understood that Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, ~~was~~ entertained by Juba ; and that Appius Varus, to whom Pompey ~~had~~ given the govern~~ment~~ of Africa, had joined them with his forces. Cato, therefore, resolved ~~to~~ march to them by land, ~~and~~ it was ~~in~~ winter. He had got together a great many asses ~~to~~ carry water ; and furnished himself also with cattle and other victualling provisions, as well ~~as~~ with ~~a~~ number of carriages. He had likewise in his train ~~a~~ of the people called Psylli,¹ who obviate the bad effects of the bite of serpents, by sucking out the poison ; and deprive the serpents themselves of their ferocity by their charms. During ~~the~~ continued march for ~~some~~ days, ~~he~~ always foremost, though he made use of neither horse nor chariot. Even after the unfortunate battle of Pharsalia, he ~~was~~ sitting,² intending it as ~~a~~ additional token of mourning, that he never lay down except to sleep.

By the end of winter he reached ~~the~~ place of his designation in Libya, with ~~an~~ army of near 10,000 men. The affairs of Scipio ~~and~~ Varus were in ~~a~~ bad situation, by reason of the misunderstanding and distraction which prevailed between ~~them~~, and which ~~made~~ them to pay their court with ~~a~~ great servility to Juba, whose health and power rendered him intolerably arrogant. For when the first gave Cato audience, he took ~~the~~ place between Scipio and Varus. But Cato took up his chair and removed it ~~to~~ the other side of Scipio ; thus giving him the ~~most~~ honourable place, though he ~~was~~ his enemy, ~~and~~ had published a libel against him. Cato's adversaries have not paid proper regard to ~~his~~ spirit ~~on~~ this occasion, but they

¹ These people were so called from their king Psyllus, whose tomb was in the region of the Syrias. Varro tells us, that to try the legitimacy of their children, they suffer them to be bitten by a venomous serpent ; and if they survive the wound, they conclude that they are not spurious. Crates Pergamensis says, there were a people of this kind at Paros on the Hellespont, called Ophiogones, whose touch alone was a cure for the bite of a serpent. Celsus observes, that the Psylli suck out the poison from the wound, not by any superior skill or quality, but because they have courage enough to do it. Some writers have asserted that the Psylli have an innate quality in ~~their~~ constitution ~~that~~ is poisonous to serpents ; and that the smell of it throws them into a profound sleep. Pliny maintains, that every man has in himself a natural poison for serpents ; and that those creatures will

shun the human saliva, as they would ~~the~~ firewater. The fasting saliva, in particular, if it comes within their mouths, kills them immediately. If, therefore, we may believe that the human saliva is an antidote to the poison of a serpent, we shall have no occasion to believe, at the same time, that the Psylli were endowed with any peculiar qualities of this kind, but that their success in these operations arose, as Celsus says, *Ex evulsores uti confirmata*. However, they made a considerable trade of it ; and we are assured, that they have been known to import the African serpents ~~into~~ Italy, and other countries, ~~to~~ increase their gain. Pliny says, they brought scorpions into Sicily, but ~~they~~ would not live in that island.

² The consul Varro did the same ~~at~~ the battle of C~~esar~~. It was ~~on~~ of mourning.

have been ready enough to blame him for putting Philostratus in the middle, when he was walking with him that day in Sicily, though he entirely out of regard to philosophy. In this he humbled Juba, who had considered Scipio and Varus as little more than his lieutenants; and he took care also to reconcile them to each other.

The whole army then desired him to take the command upon him; and Scipio and Varus readily offered to resign it; but he said, "He would not transgress the laws, for the sake of a mere wage, with the man who trampled upon them; nor, when he was only *proprator*, take the command from a *proconsul*." For Scipio was appointed proconsul; and his name inspired the generality with hopes of success; for they thought a Scipio could not be beaten in Africa.

Scipio being established commander-in-chief, he gratified Juba, and inclined him to put all the inhabitants of Utica to the sword, and the city to a place engaged in the interest of Cæsar. Cato would not suffer it: he inveighed loudly in council against that design, invoking heaven and earth to oppose it; and, with much difficulty, rescued that people out of the hands of cruelty. After which, partly on their application, and partly on the request of Scipio, he agreed to take the command of the town, that it might neither willingly nor unwillingly fall into the hands of Cæsar. Indeed, it was a place very convenient and advantageous to those who possessed it; and Cato added much to its strength, as well as convenience. For he brought into it a vast quantity of bread-corn, repaired the walls, erected towers, and fortified it with ditches and ramparts. Then he armed all the youth of Utica, and posted them in the trenches under his eye; as for the rest of the inhabitants, he kept them close within the walls; but, at the same time, took great care that they should receive no injury of any kind from the Romans. And by the supply of arms, of money, and provisions, which he sent in great quantities to the camp, Utica came to be considered as the principal magazine.

The advice he had before given to Pompey, he now gave to Scipio, "Not to risk a battle with an able and experienced warrior, but to take the advantage of time, which effectually blasts the growth of tyranny." Scipio, however, in his rashness, despised his counsels, and was so scrupled to reproach Cato with cowardice, asking, "Whether he could not be satisfied with sitting within the walls and bars, unless he hindered others from taking bolder measures upon occasion?" Cato answered back, "That he was ready to cross over into Italy with his horse and foot which he had brought into Africa, and, by bringing Cæsar upon himself, to draw him from his design against Scipio." Scipio only ridiculed the proposal; and he plainly told Cato now repented his giving up to him the command, that Scipio would pursue his scheme for the conduct of the war; that if he should, beyond all expectation, succeed, he would behave with a kind of moderation to the citizens.—It was

therefore Cato's judgment, [] often declared it [] friends, "That, by reason of [] incapacity [] rashness [] the generals, [] could hope no good end of the [] and that, even if victory [] declare for them, and Cæsar be destroyed, for his part [] would [] stay [] Rome, but fly [] the cruelty and inhumanity of Scipio, who already threw out insolent [] against many [] the Romans."

The thing [] to pass [] [] expected. About midnight a person arrived from the army, whence he [] been three days in coming, with [] [] a great battle [] been fought at Thaspos; that [] [] lost; that Cæsar [] master of [] the camps; and that Scipio and Juba [] [] with a [] troops, which [] escaped [] general slaughter.

On the receipt of [] tidings, the people of Utica, as might be expected amidst the apprehensions of night and war, [] in the [] distraction, and could scarce keep themselves within the walls. But Cato making his appearance among the citizens, who were running up and down the [] with great confusion and clamour, encouraged them in the best [] he could. To remove the violence of terror and astonishment, he told them the case might not be so bad as it was represented, the misfortune being probably exaggerated by report; and thus he calmed the present tumult. As soon as it was light, he summoned to the temple of Jupiter the 300 whom he made use of as a council. These were the Romans who trafficked there in merchandise and exchange of money; and [] them he added [] the senators and their sons. While they [] assembling, he entered the house with great composure and firmness of look, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, and read a book which he had in his hand. This contained an account of the stores, the corn, the arms, [] other implements of war, and the musters.

When they [] met, he opened the [] by commending [] 300 for the extraordinary alacrity and fidelity they had shown in serving the public [] with their purses, their persons, and their counsels; and exhorting them not [] entertain different views, [] to endeavour [] [] themselves by flight; "for," continued he, "if you keep in a body, Cæsar will not hold you in such contempt, if you continue [] []; and you [] be [] likely [] be spared, if you have [] [] submission. I desire you [] consider the point thoroughly, and what resolution [] you [] take, I will [] blame you. If you [] inclined to [] with [] stream of fortune, I shall impute [] change to the necessity of the times. If you bear up against [] threatening aspect, and continue [] face danger [] the [] of liberty, I [] be your fellow-soldier, as well [] captain, till [] country has experienced [] [] issues [] her [] : our country, which is not [] Utica, [] Dyrrachium, [] [] , and she, in her [] [] [] recovered herself from [] [] than this. Many [] we certainly have at present; and the principal is, that we have to contend with a man whose occasions oblige him to [] to various objects. Spain []

gone to young Pompey, and Rome, yet to the yoke, ready to spurn it from her, and rise on any prospect of change. Nor is danger to be declined. You may take your enemy for a pattern, who is prodigal of his blood in iniquitous wars; whereas, if you succeed, you will live extremely happy; you miscarry, the uncertainties of war will be terminated with a glorious death. However, deliberate among yourselves as to the steps you should take, first entreating Heaven to prosper your determinations in a war worthy the courage and zeal you have already shown."

This speech of Cato's inspired some with confidence, and even with hope; the generality were much with his intrepid, his generous, and humane turn of mind, they almost forgot present danger; and looking only as general that invincible, and superior to all fortune. They desired him what he thought proper of their fortunes and their arms; for that it better to die under his banner than save their lives the expense of betraying so much virtue." One of the council observed the expediency of a decree for enfranchising the slaves, and many commended the motion: Cato, however, said "He would not do that, because it was neither just nor lawful; but such as their masters would voluntarily discharge, he would receive, provided they of proper age to bear arms." This many promised to do; and Cato withdrew, after having ordered lists to be made out of all that should offer.

A little after this, letters were brought him from Juba and Scipio. Juba, who lay with a small corps concealed in the mountains, desired to know Cato's intentions; proposing to wait for him if he left Utica, to assist him if he chose to stand a siege. Scipio also lay anchor under a promontory near Utica, expecting an account.

Cato thought it advisable to keep the messenger till he should know the final determination of the 300. of the patrician order great readiness enfranchised and armed their slaves; but as for the 300, who in traffic and loans of money high interest, and slaves a considerable part of their fortune, impression which Cato's speech had made upon them last long. As bodies easily receive heat, and easily grow cold again when the fire is removed, so sight Cato warmed and liberalised these traders; but when they consider the among themselves, dread of Cæsar soon put flight their for Cato, and for virtue. For thus they talked—"are we, and what is the man whose orders we refuse to receive? Is it Cæsar into whose hands whole power of the Roman empire fallen? And surely none of us is a Scipio, a Pompey, or a Cato. we, at a time when their fears make men certain sentiments beneath dignity—shall we, in Utica, fight liberty of Rome with a man against whom Cato and Pompey the Great durst not make a stand in Italy? Shall we franchise slaves to Cæsar, who have no more liberty

ourselves than [] conqueror is pleased to leave us? Ah! wretches [] are! Let [] least [] ourselves [] deputies [] intercede with him for mercy." [] the language of the [] moderate among the 300; [] the greater part of them lay in wait for [] patricians, thinking, if they could seize upon them, they should [] easily make their peace with Cæsar. Cato suspected the change, but made no [] against it; [] only [] Scipio and Juba, to keep [] distance from Utica because the 300 [] not be depended upon.

In the meantime [] considerable body of cavalry, who [] escaped out of the battle approached Utica, and despatched three [] to Cato, though they could [] to [] unanimous resolution. For some [] for joining Juba, [] Cato, and others [] afraid to [] Utica. This [] being brought to Cato, he ordered Marcus Rubrius [] attend to the business of the 300, and quietly [] take down the [] of such [] offered [] free their slaves, without pretending to [] the least compulsion. Then he [] of the town, taking the senators with him, to [] conference with the principal officers of the cavalry. He entreated their officers not to abandon so many Roman senators; nor to choose Juba, rather than Cato, for their general; but to join, and mutually contribute to each other's safety by entering the city, which [] impregnable in point of strength, and had provisions and everything necessary for defence for many years. The senators seconded this application with [] yers and tears. The officers [] consult the troops under their command; and Cato, with the senators, sat down upon one of the mounds to wait their answer.

At that moment Rubrius came up in great fury, inveighing against the 300, who, he said, behaved in a very disorderly manner, and [] raising commotions in the city. Upon this, many of [] thought their condition desperate, and gave into the ut- [] expressions of grief. But Cato endeavoured [] them, and requested [] 300 to have patience.

Nor [] anything moderate in the proposals of the cavalry. The answer from them was, "That they had [] desire [] be in the pay of Juba; [] did they fear Cæsar while they should have Cato for their general; but [] be shut [] with Uticans, Phœnicians, who would change with the wind, was a circumstance which they could not bear [] think of; for," [] they, "if they [] quiet now, yet when Cæsar arrives, they will betray [] and conspire our destruction. Whoever, therefore, desires [] to range under [] banner there, must first expel the Uticans, [] put them to the sword, and then call us into a place clear of enemies and barbarians." These proposals appeared to Cato extremely barbarous [] []; however he mildly answered, "That [] would talk with the 300 about them." Then, entering the city again, he applied to that [] of men, who now no longer, out of reverence to him, dissembled or palliated their designs. They openly expressed their resentment that any citizens should [] [] []

them against Cæsar, with whom all contest was beyond their power and their hopes. Nay, some went so far as to say, "That the senators ought to be detained in the town till Cæsar came." Cato let them know if he heard it not; and, indeed, he was a little deaf.

But being informed that the cavalry was marching off, he was afraid that the 300 would take a desperate step with respect to the senators, and therefore went in pursuit of them with his friends. As he found they were got to the march, he rode after them. It was his pleasure they should not approach; and they exhorted him to go with them, and to save his life with theirs. On this occasion, it is said that Cato shed tears, while he interceded with extended hands in behalf of the senators. He turned away from the sight of their horses, and from the sight of their armour, till he prevailed with them to stay, at least, that day, to secure the safety of the town.

When he came back with them, and had committed the charge of the gates to some, and the citadel to others, the 300 were under great apprehensions of being punished for their inconstancy, and went to beg of Cato, by all means, to pardon and speak for them. But the senators would not suffer him to go. They said they would never let their guardian and deliverer come into the hands of such perfidious and traitorous men. It was now, indeed, that Cato's virtue appeared to all ranks of men in Utica in the clearest light, and commanded the highest love and admiration. Nothing could be more evident than that his most perfect integrity was the guide of his actions. He was long resolved to put an end to his being, and yet he submitted to inexpressible labours, cares and conflicts, for others; that, after he had secured their lives, he might relinquish his own. For his intentions in that respect were obvious enough, though he endeavoured to conceal them.

Therefore, he having satisfied the senators as well as he could, he went alone to wait upon the 300. "They thanked him for the favour, and entreated him to trust them and make use of their services; but they were so sensible of Cato's dignity of mind, they hoped he would pity their weakness. They told him they were resolved to send deputies to Cæsar, and intercede first and principally for Cato. If that request should be granted, they would have no obligation to him for any favour he themselves; but as long as they had breath, would fight for Cato." Cato made acknowledgments for their regard, and advised them to send immediately to intercede for themselves. "For me," said he, "I intercede not. It is for the conquered to turn suppliants, and for those who have done an injury to beg pardon. For my part, I have been unconquered through life, and superior to the things I wished to be; for in justice and honour I am Cæsar's superior. Cæsar is the vanquished, the falling man, being now clearly convicted of those designs against his country which he has long denied."

After he had thus spoken to the 300, he left them; and being

that Cæsar already on his march Utica, "Strange!" said he, "it he takes for men." then senators, and desired them to hasten their flight while the cavalry maine. He likewise shut gates, except that which leads to sea, appointed ships for those who depart; provided for good order in the redressed grievance; composed disturbances furnished all who wanted, with the necessary provisions for the voyage. About this Marcus Octavius¹ approached the place with legions; and, as soon he had encamped, desire Cato to settle with the business of the command. Cato gave the messenger no answer, but turning his friends, said, "Need wonder that has prospered when we retain our ambition the very brink of ruin?"

In the meantime, having intelligence that the cavalry, at their departure, were taking the goods of the Uticans a lawful prize, he hastened up them, and snatched the plunder of the hands of the foremost, upon which they throw down what they had got, and retired in silence, dejected and ashamed. He then assembled the Uticans, and applied them in behalf of the 300, desiring them not to exasperate Cæsar against those Romans, but to act in with them, and consult each other's safety. After which he returned to the seaside look upon the embarkation; and such of his friends and acquaintances as he could persuade go, he embraced, and dismissed with great marks of affection. His son was not willing to go with the rest; and he thought it not right insist on his leaving a father he was so fond of. There one Statyllius,² a young man, who affected firmness of resolution above years, and, in all respects, studied to appear, like Cato, superior to passion. As this young man's enmity C was well known, Cato desired him by all to take ship with the rest; and, when he found him bent upon staying, he turned to Apollonides the Stoic, and Demetrius Peripatetic, and said, "It is your business to reduce man's extravagance of mind, and make him what is for his good." now dismissed all except such had business of importance with him; and upon these he spent that night and great part of the day following.

Lucius Cæsar, relation of the conqueror, intended intercede for 300, desired Cato to assist him composing suitable speech. "And for you," said he, "I shall think honour become the humble suppliant, and even throw myself his feet." Cato, however, would suffer it: "If chose indebted," said he, "to Cæsar for my life, I ought go in person, and without any mediator; but I will have any obligation to a tyrant in a business by which he subverts laws. does subvert laws, by saving, a master, those over

¹ name who Pompey's fleet.

² This brave young Roman was the same who, after the battle of

went through the enemy, to inquire into the condition of Brutus's camp, and was slain in his return by Cæsar's soldiers.

whom he [] right of authority. Nevertheless, [] will [] sider, if you please, [] make your application [] effectual in behalf of [] 300."

[] had spent [] time with Lucius Cæsar upon this affair, he recommended [] son and [] to his protection, conducted [] a [] on his way, and then took his leave, and retired [] his [] house. [] son [] the rest of his friends being assembled there, [] discoursed [] them a considerable time; and, among other things, charged the young man to take [] share [] the administration. "For the [] of affairs," [] he, "is such, that it [] impossible for you [] fill any office in a [] worthy of Cato; and [] it otherwise would be unworthy of yourself."

In [] evening he [] the bath; where, being [] himself of Statyllius, he [] aloud to Apollonides, and said, "Have you taken down the pride of that young man? and [] he gone without bidding [] farewell?" "No, indeed," answered the philosopher, "we have taken a great deal of pains with him; but he continues [] lofty and resolute as ever; he says he will stay, and certainly follow your conduct." Cato then smiled, and said, "That will soon be seen."

After bathing, he went to supper, with [] large company, at which he sat, [] he had always done since the battle of Pharsalia; for he never now lay down except [] sleep. All his friends, and the magistrates of Utica, supped with him. After supper, the wine [] seasoned with much wit and learning; and many questions in philosophy were proposed and discussed. In the [] of the conversation, they came to the paradoxes of the Stoics (for [] their maxims are commonly called), and [] this in particular, "*That the good [] only is free, and all bad men [] slaves.*"¹ The Peripatetic, in pursuance of his principles, took up the argument against it. Upon which, Cato attacked him with great warmth, and in a louder and [] vehement accent than usual, carried [] a [] spirited discourse to a considerable length. From the [] of it, the whole company perceived he had determined to put an end [] his being, [] extricate [] from the hard conditions on which he [] hold it.

As he found [] deep and melancholy silence the consequence of his discourse, [] endeavoured to [] the spirits of his guests and to remove their suspicions, by talking of their present affairs, and expressing his fears both for his friends and partisans who [] upon their voyage; and for those who [] make their way through dry deserts, and [] barbarous country.

After the entertainment was over, [] took [] usual evening [] with [] friends, and gave the officers of the guards such orders [] the occasion required, and then retired to his chamber. The extraordinary [] with [] embraced [] son and his friends at [] parting, recalled all [] suspicions. [] lay [] and began to read Plato's book on [] immortality of the soul; []

¹ [] was not the sentiment of the Stoics only, but of []

before he had gone through with it, he looked up, and took notice that his sword was not at the head of his bed, where it was hanging; for his servant had taken it away while he was at supper. He, therefore, called his servant and asked him, who had taken away his sword? As the servant made no answer, he returned to his book; and, after a while, without any appearance of haste or hurry, as if it were only by accident that he called for his sword, he ordered him to bring it. The servant still delayed to bring it, and he waited patience till he had read his book: but then he called his servant by one, and in a louder tone demanded his sword. At last he struck one of them such a blow on the mouth that he hurt his hand; and growing angry, and raising his voice higher, he cried, "I am betrayed and delivered up to my enemy by my son and my servants." His son then ran in with his friends, and tenderly embracing him, had recourse to tears and entreaties. But Cato rose up, and with a stern and resolute look, expressed himself:—"When and where shall I show any signs of distraction, that nobody offers to dissuade me from any purpose that I may be wrong in, I must be hindered from pursuing my resolutions, thus disarmed? And you, young man, why do not you bind your father? bind his hands behind his back, that when Caesar comes, he may find me utterly incapable of resistance? As to a sword, I have no need of it; I despise myself; for if I do but hold my breath a while, or dash my head against the wall, it will answer the purpose well."

Upon his speaking in this manner, the young man went out of his chamber weeping, and with him the rest, except Demetrius and Apollonides. To these philosophers he addressed himself in a milder tone.—"Are you also determined to make me live of my age live whether he will or no? And do you sit here in silence and watch me? Or do you bring any arguments to prove, that, now Cato has no hopes from any other quarters, it is no dishonour to beg mercy of his enemy? Why do not you begin a lecture in—better, that, dismissing your opinions in which you and I have lived, we may, through Caesar's means, grow wiser, and have a greater obligation to him? As yet I have determined nothing with respect to myself; but I ought to have it in my power to put my purpose in execution, when I have formed it. And, indeed, I shall, in all measure, consult with you, for I shall proceed in my deliberations upon the principles of your philosophy. I will then, I will my son, if persuasion will do, I will have recourse to constraint."

They made no answer, but went out; the sword falling from their hands as they withdrew. The sword was found in by a little boy. He drew, examined it, and finding the point and edge good, "Now," said he, "I am satisfied of myself." Then laying down the sword, he took up his book again, and, it is said, he perused it whole twice.¹ After which, he slept so sound

¹ Yet this very dialogue stands in the sixteenth scene.

was heard by ■■■ who were ■■ waiting without. About midnight ■■ called for ■■ of his freedmen, Cleanthes the physician, ■■ Butas, whom ■■ generally employed about public business. ■■ latter ■■ ■■ port, to see whether ■■ ■■ ■■ had put ■■ sea, and bring him word.

In the ■■■ ■■ ordered the physician to dress his hand, which ■■ inflamed by the blow he had given his ■■■. This ■■ ■■ consolation ■■ the whole house, for ■■ they thought he had dropped ■■ design against his life. Soon after ■■ ■■ returned, and informed him that they ■■ all got ■■ except Crassus, who ■■ detained by ■■ business, but ■■ intended ■■ embark very soon, though the wind blew hard, ■■ the sea was tempestuous. Cato ■■ this news, sighed ■■ pity of his friends ■■ sea, and ■■ Butas again, ■■ if any of them happened ■■ have put back, ■■ should be in ■■ of anything, ■■ might acquaint him with it.

By this time the ■■■s began to sing, and Cato ■■ again into a little slumber. Butas, at his return, told him, all was quiet in the harbour; upon which Cato ordered him ■■ shut the door, having first stretched himself on the bed, ■■ if he designed ■■ sleep ■■ the ■■ of the night. But after Butas was gone, he drew his sword, and stabbed himself under ■■ breast. However, he could not strike hard enough ■■ account of the inflammation ■■ his hand, and therefore did ■■ presently expire, but in the struggle with death fell from the bed, and threw down a little geometrical table that ■■d by.

The noise alarming the servants, they cried out, ■■ ■■ and ■■ friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels ■■ out; at the ■■ ■■ he ■■ alive and looked upon them. They were struck with ■■ pressible horror. The physician approached to ■■ wound, and finding ■■ bowels uninjured, he put them up, and began ■■ sew ■■ the wound. But ■■ soon as Cato ■■ a little ■■ himself, he thrust away ■■ physician, tore ■■ wound, plucked ■■ bowels, and immediately expired.

In less ■■ than one would think all the family could be informed of this ■■ event, the 300 were at the door; and a little after, all the people of Utica thronged about it, with ■■ calling him "their benefactor, their saviour, the only free and unconquered man." This they did, though, ■■ the ■■ time, they ■■ intelligence that Cæsar ■■ approaching. Neither tear, nor the flattery of the ■■ queror, ■■ the factious disputes that prevailed among themselves, could d ■■ them from doing honour to Cato. They adorned the body ■■ magnificent manner, and, after a splendid procession, buried it ■■ sea; where now stands his statue, with a sword ■■ right hand.

■■ great business over, they began to ■■ ■■ saving themselves ■■ their city. ■■ had been informed by persons who ■■ surrender themselves, that Cato remained in Utica, without ■■ thoughts of flight; ■■ he provided ■■ the escape of

others, indeed, that himself with his friends and his lived there without any appearance of fear or apprehension. Upon these circumstances could form no probable conjecture. However, as it a great point with him to get Cato his hands, advanced to place with his army with all possible expedition. And when intelligence of Cato's death, is reported have uttered short sentence, "*Cato, I envy thee death, since thou couldst envy the glory of saving thy life.*" Indeed, Cato signed his life to Cæsar, he would so much have his honour to that of the conqueror. What might have been the event is uncertain; but, in all probability, Cæsar would have inclined the merciful side.

Cato died at the of forty-eight. His suffered nothing from Cæsar; but, it is said, was rather immoral, and that he censured for conduct with respect to In Cappadocia lodged the house of Marphadates, one of the royal family, who had a very handsome wife; and he stayed there a longer time than decency could warrant, such jokes these passed upon him:—"Cato goes the after the thirtieth day of the month."—"Porcius and Marphadates are two friends who have but *soul*;" for the wife of Marphadates named *Psyche*, which signifies *soul*.—"Cato is a great and man, and has a royal *soul*." Nevertheless, he wiped off all aspersions by his death; for, fighting against Octavius Cæsar and Antony, in the cause of liberty, after his party gave way, he disdained to fly. Instead of slipping of the action, he challenged the enemy try their strength with Cato! he animated such of his troops as had stood their ground, and fell, acknowledged by his adversaries a prodigy of valour.

Cato's daughter much more admired for her virtues. She not inferior her father either in prudence in fortitude; for being married Brutus, who killed Cæsar, she trusted with secret of the conspiracy, and put a period her in a worthy of her birth and of her virtue, have related in the of Brutus.

As for Statyllius, who promised to imitate the pattern of Cato, he would have despatched himself after him, but prevented by the philosophers. He approved himself afterwards Brutus faithful able officer, and fell in the battle of Philippi.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

Sylla had made himself master of Rome,¹ endeavoured to bring Cæsar to repudiate Cornelia, daughter Cinna, one of the tyrants; and finding he could either by hopes

¹ Some imagine that the beginning of this life is lost; if they look back

the introduction to the Life of Alexander that notion will vanish.

fears, ■■ confiscated her dowry. Indeed, Cæsar, as a relation ■■ Marius, ■■ naturally an ■■■■ to Sylla. Old ■■■■ had married Julia, Cæsar's aunt, and therefore young Marius, the son he ■■ by her, ■■ Cæsar's cousin-german. At first Sylla, amidst ■■ number of proscriptions ■■ engaged ■■ attention, over- ■■■■ enemy; ■■ Cæsar, not content with escaping so, presented ■■■■ to the people as a candidate for ■■ priesthood,² though ■■ yet come to years of maturity. Sylla exerted ■■ influence against ■■ and he miscarried. The dictator afterwards thought of having him taken off, and when ■■ said, there ■■ no need ■■ such ■■ boy to death, ■■ answered, "their sagacity ■■ small, if they did ■■ that boy see many Marius's."

This saying being reported ■■ Cæsar, he concealed himself ■■ long time, wandering up and down in the country of ■■ ■■■■. Amidst his ■■■■ from house to house he fell sick, and on that account was forced to be carried in a litter. The soldiers employed by Sylla to search those parts, and d ■■ the proscribed persons from their retreats, one night fell in with him; but Cornelius, who commanded there, was prevailed ■■ by a bribe of two talents ■■ him go.

He then hastened ■■ sea, and sailed to Bithynia, where he sought protection of Nicomedes the king. His stay, however, with him was ■■ long. He re-embarked, ■■ taken near the isle of Pharmacusa, by pirates, who were ■■■■ of that sea, and blocked up all the passages with ■■ number of galleys ■■ other vessels. They asked him only twenty talents for his ■■■■. He laughed at their demand, as the consequence of their not knowing him, and promised them fifty talents. To raise the money he despatched his people to different cities, and in the meantime remained with only ■■ friend and two attendants among these Cilicians, who ■■ sidered murder ■■ a trifle. Cæsar, however, ■■ them ■■ great contempt, and used ■■ send, whenever he went ■■ sleep, and order them ■■ keep silence. Thus he lived among them thirty-eight days, ■■ if they had been ■■ guards, rather than his keepers. Perfectly fearless and secure, he joined in their diversions, and took his exercises among them. He wrote poems and orations, and rehearsed them ■■ these pirates; and when they expressed no admiration, ■■ called them dunces and barbarians. Nay, ■■ often threatened to crucify them. They ■■ delighted with these freedoms, which they imputed to his ■■ and facetious vein. But ■■ the money ■■ brought from Miletus, ■■ recovered his liberty, ■■ manned some vessels in the port of Miletus,³ in order

¹ Cæsar would not make such a sacrifice to the Dictator as Piso had done, who, at his command, ■■■■ his wife ■■ Pompey, too, ■■ of Sylla's alliance; repudiated Antiochia.

² Cæsar had the ■■ priesthood before Sylla was ■■■■. In the seventeenth year of his age, he broke his engagement to Cornelia, though she was of a consular and opulent family, and married Cornelia, the

daughter of Cinna, by whose interest, and that of Marius, he was created *Flamen Martialis* or Priest of Jupiter. ■■■■ when absolute master of Rome, insisted on his divorcing Cornelia, and, upon his refusal, deprived him of that office. BURROUGHS. Julio.

³ Tacitus reads *Miletus*, which was one of the Cyclades, but does not mention his authority.

to attack ■■■■ corsairs. ■■■■ found them still lying ■■■■ anchor by the island, took ■■■■ of them, together with the money, and imprisoned them ■■■■ Pergamus. After which, he applied to Junius who then commanded in Asia, because ■■■■ him, ■■■■ prætor, ■■■■ belonged ■■■■ punish them. Junius having ■■■■ eye upon the money, which ■■■■ a considerable sum, demurred about ■■■■ matter; ■■■■ Cæsar, perceiving his intention, returned ■■■■ Pergamus, and crucified all the prisoners, ■■■■ he had often threatened to do ■■■■ Pharnacusa, when they took him to be ■■■■ jest.

When the power of Sylla came to be upon ■■■■ decline, Cæsar's friends pressed him to return to Rome. But first he ■■■■ ■■■■ Rhodes, to study under Apollonius, the son of Molo,¹ who taught rhetoric there with great reputation, and ■■■■ ■■■■ of irreproachable ■■■■. Cicero also was one of his scholars. Cæsar is said to have had happy talents from nature for ■■■■ public speaker, and ■■■■ did ■■■■ an ambition ■■■■ cultivate them; ■■■■ that undoubtedly he ■■■■ the second orator in Rome, and he might have been the first, had he not rather chosen the pre-eminence in arms. Thus he never rose to that pitch of eloquence to which his power would have brought him, being engaged in those wars and political intrigues which at last gained the empire. Hence it was that afterwards in his *Anticato*, which he wrote in answer to a book of Cicero's, he desired his readers "Not to expect in the performance of a military man the style of ■■■■ complete orator, who had bestowed all his time upon such studies."

Upon his return ■■■■ Rome, he impeached Dolabella for misdemeanours in his government, and many cities of Greece supported the charge by their evidence. ■■■■ ■■■■ acquitted. Cæsar, however, in acknowledgment of the readiness Greece had shown to serve him, assisted her in her prosecution of Publius Antonius for corruption. The ■■■■ was brought before Marcus Lucullus, prætor of Macedonia; and Cæsar pleaded it in ■■■■ powerful ■■■■ manner, that the defendant was forced ■■■■ appeal ■■■■ the tribunes of the people; alleging, that he was not upon equal ■■■■ with the Greeks in Greece.

The eloquence he showed at Rome in defending persons impeached, gained him ■■■■ considerable interest, and his engaging

1 It ■■■■ ■■■■ Apollonius Molo, not Apollonius the son of Molo. According to Suetonius, ■■■■ studied under him at Rome before this adventure of the pirates. ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ and other critics say the same. Yet Strabo (l. xiv. p. 638, 639, 661.) tells us, Molo and Apollonius were two different ■■■■ ■■■■ affirms that they were both natives of Alabanda, a city of Caria; that they were both scholars of Menæclæus the Alabandian; and that they both professed the same art at Rhodes, though Molo ■■■■ ■■■■ Apollonius. Cicero likewise seems to distinguish them, calling the one Molo, and the other Apollonius ■■■■ Alabandian, especially ■■■■ his

last book *De Oratore*, where he introduces Antonius speaking of him thus: "For this one thing I always liked Apollonius the Alabandian; though he taught ■■■■ money, he did not suffer any whom he thought incapable ■■■■ making ■■■■ as content to live their time and labour ■■■■ him, but sent them home, exhorting them to apply themselves to that art for which they were, in his opinion, ■■■■ qualified."

To solve this difficulty, we are ■■■■ to suppose with Ituvrid, that ■■■■ ■■■■ Molo, contemporaries: ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ Cæsar, c. 4), and of Quintilian Institut. l. xii. c. 8), that Cæsar and ■■■■ ■■■■ pupils to Apollonius Molo, can ■■■■ be overruled.

address and conversation carried the hearts of the people. For his condescension was expected from so young a man. At the same time, the freedom of his table and the magnificence of his expense gradually increased his power, and brought him into the administration. Those who envied him, imagined he would fail, and therefore, at first, made light of his popularity, considerable as it was. But when it was grown to such a height that it was impossible to demolish it, and a plain tendency to the ruin of the constitution, they found out, when it was late, that the beginnings of things, however small, are neglected; because continuance makes them great, and the very contempt they are held in gives them opportunity to gain that strength which cannot be resisted.

Cicero was the first who suspected something formidable from the flattering calm of Cæsar's political conduct, and his deep and dangerous designs under the smiles of his benignity. "I perceive," said the orator, "an inclination for tyranny in his projects and designs; but on the other hand, when I see him adjusting his hair with so much exactness, and scratching his head with his finger, I can hardly think that such a man can conceive so vast and fatal a design as the destruction of the Roman commonwealth." This, however, was an observation made at a much later period than that which are upon.

The first proof he had of the affection of the people was when he obtained a tribuneship in the army before his competitor Caius I'opilius. The second was more remarkable; it was the occasion of his pronouncing from the pulpit the funeral oration of his wife Julia, the wife of Marius, in which he failed not to do justice to her virtue. At the same time he had the hardiness to produce the images of Marius, which had not been seen before during Sylla's administration; Marius and his adherents having been declared enemies to the state. Upon this some began to raise a clamour against Cæsar; but they were soon silenced by the acclamations and plaudits of the people, expressing their admiration of his courage in bringing the honours of Marius again to light, after so long a suppression, and raising them, as it were, from the shades of oblivion.

It had long been the custom in Rome for the aged women to have funeral panegyrics, but not the young. Cæsar first broke through it, by pronouncing one for his wife, who died in her prime. This contributed to fix him in the affections of the people: they sympathised with him, and considered him as a man of great good nature, and one who had great social duties at heart.

After the funeral of his wife, he was sent quaestor into Spain. Antistius Vetus the prætor, whom he honoured with his company after; and when he was prætor himself, he acknowledged the favour by giving Vetus's son for his quaestor. When that commission was expired, he took Pompeia to his third wife, having a

daughter by his wife Cornelia, whom he afterwards married Pompey the Great.

Many people, who observed his prodigious expense, thought he was purchasing a short transient honour very dear, but, in fact, he was gaining the greatest things he could aspire to, at a small price. He said to have been 1,300 talents in debt before he got any public employment. When he had the superintendence of the Appian Road, he laid out a great deal of his own money; and when ædile, he not only exhibited 320 pairs of gladiators, but other diversions of the theatre, in the processions and public tables, he far outshone the ambitious that had gone before him. These things attached the people to him so strongly that every one sought for his honours and employments, as recompense for his generosity.

There were two factions in the state; that of Sylla, which was the strongest; and that of Marius, which was in a broken and low condition. Cæsar's study was to raise and revive the latter. In pursuit of which intention, when his exhibitions, as ædile, were in the highest reputation, he caused new images of Marius to be privately made, together with a representation of his victories adorned with trophies, and one night placed them in the Capitol. Next morning these figures were seen glistening with gold, of the most exquisite workmanship, and bearing inscriptions which declared them his achievements of victory against the Cimbri. The Romans were astonished at the boldness of the man who erected them; nor was it difficult to know who he was. The report spread with the most rapidity, and the whole city assembled to see them. Some exclaimed, that Cæsar plainly affected the tyranny, by openly producing those honours which the laws had condemned to darkness and oblivion. This, they said, he did to make a trial of the people, whom he had prepared by his caresses, whether they would suffer themselves to be entirely caught by his venal benefactions, and let him play upon them and make what innovations he pleased. On the other hand, the partizans of Marius encouraging each other, went to the Capitol in vast numbers, and made it echo with their plaudits. Some of them even wept for joy at the sight of Marius's images. They bestowed the highest encomiums upon Cæsar, and declared that the only relation worthy of that great man.

The Romans assembled on the occasion, and Lutatius Catulus, a man of the greatest reputation in Rome, rose and accused Cæsar. In his speech against him he used this memorable expression, "You no longer attack the commonwealth by mines, but by open battery." Cæsar, however, defended his cause so well that he gave it to him; and his admirers, still more elated, kept him a spirit of enterprise, for he might gain everything with the favour of the people, and easily become the first man in Rome.

Amidst these transactions, died Metellus, principal pontiff. He was succeeded by Cæsar, and Catulus, one of the most powerful men in Rome, of the greatest interest in the state.

Nevertheless, Cæsar did not give place to them, but presented himself to the people as a candidate. The pretensions and prospects of his competitors seemed equal, Catulus, more uneasy than others under the uncertainty of success, on account of his superior dignity, privately to Cæsar, and offered him large sums, on condition that he would desist from his high pursuit. Cæsar answered, *"He would rather borrow still larger sums to carry his election."*

When the day of election came, Cæsar's mother attending him at the door, with her eyes bathed in tears, he embraced her and said, *"My dear mother, you will see me this day either chief pontiff or an exile."* There never was anything so strongly contested; the suffrages, however, gave it for Cæsar. The senate, and others of the principal citizens, were greatly alarmed at this; they apprehended that he would now push the people into a manner of licentiousness and misrule. Therefore, Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero much for sparing Cæsar, when Catiline's conspiracy gave him an opportunity to take him off. Catiline, whose intention was not so much to make alterations in the constitution, as entirely to subvert it, and throw all into confusion, upon some slight suspicions appearing against him, quitted Rome before the whole were unravelled; but he left behind him Lentulus and Cethegus to conduct the conspiracy within the city.

Whether Cæsar privately encouraged and supported them, is uncertain; what is universally agreed upon, is this: The guilt of those two conspirators clearly appearing, Cicero, consul, took the sense of the senators as to the punishment that should be inflicted upon them; and they gave it for death, till it came to Cæsar's turn, who, in a studied speech, represented, "That it seemed neither agreeable to justice, nor the customs of their country, to put any of their birth and dignity to death without an open trial, except in cases of extreme necessity. That they should rather be kept in prison, in any of the cities of Italy. Cicero might pitch upon, Catiline subdued; the senate might take cognizance of the crimes of each conspirator in their peace, and in their leisure."

As there appeared something humane in this opinion, and it was powerfully enforced by the orator, those who were his voices afterwards, and even many who had declared for the other side of the question, came into it. But Cato and Catulus carried it for death. Cato, in a speech against the opinion of Cæsar, scrupled not to declare his suspicions of him; and this, and other arguments, had so much weight that the two conspirators were delivered to the executioner. Nay, Cæsar, going out of the senate-house, several of the tribunes, who guarded Cicero's person, came upon him with drawn swords; but we see that Curio covered him with his gown, and so carried him off; and Cicero himself, when he looked on him for a nod of consent, saw it, either out of fear of the people, or because he thought killing him unjust and unlawful. If this be true,

I [] why Cicero did [] mention [] in the history [] his consulship. He was blamed, however, afterwards, for [] availing himself [] so good [] opportunity [] he then had, [] [] being [] by his [] the people, who [] indeed strongly [] [] for, a few days after, when Cæsar entered [] senate, and endeavoured [] clear himself of the suspicions [] lay under, his defence [] received [] indignation [] loud [] proaches; [] they [] longer than usual, the people [] [] house, [] with violent outcries demanded Cæsar, absolutely insisting on [] being dismissed.

Cato, therefore, fearing [] insurrection of the indigent populace, who [] foremost in [] seditions, and who [] fixed their hopes upon Cæsar, persuaded [] senate to order a distribution of bread-corn among them every month, which added five million [] hundred thousand *drachmas* to the yearly expense of the state.¹ This expedient certainly obviated the present danger, by seasonably [] ducing the power of Cæsar, who was now prætor elect, and more formidable [] that account.

Cæsar's prætorship [] not productive of any trouble to the [] monwealth, but that year there happened a disagreeable [] in his [] family. There was a young patrician, named Publius Clodius, of great fortune and distinguished eloquence, but [] the [] time one of the foremost among the vicious and the profligate. This man entertained a passion for Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, nor did she discountenance it. But the women's apartment [] so narrowly observed, and all the steps of Pompeia [] much attended to [] by Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, who was a [] of great virtue and prudence, that it [] difficult and hazardous for them to have an interview.

Among the goddesses the Romans worship, there is one they call *Bona Dea*, the good goddess, as the Greeks have [] they call *Gynæcea*, [] patroness of the women. The Phrygians claim her as the mother of their king [] ; the Romans say, she was a Dryad, and [] of Faunus; and the Greeks [] us, she [] that mother of Bacchus, whose [] is not to be uttered. For [] reason, the women, when they keep her festival, [] their [] with vine branches; and, according to the fable, a sacred dragon lies [] the [] of [] goddess. No [] is allowed to be present, nor even to [] in the house, [] the celebration of her orgies. Many of [] monies [] then perform by themselves [] said to be [] those in [] feasts of Orpheus.

When [] anniversary of [] [] comes, the consul or prætor (for [] [] the house of [] of them it [] kept) [] out, and [] a male is [] in it. The wife, now having the house [] to herself, decorates [] it in a proper manner; [] mysteries [] performed in [] night; [] the whole [] spent [] music and play. Pompeia [] [] the directress of the [] ; Clodius, who was yet a hard-hearted youth, thought he might [] [] women's apparel undiscovered,

having the garb instruments a musician, perfectly resembled one. He found the door open, safely introduced by a maid-servant who knew tell Pompeia; and she stayed a considerable time, durst remain where she left him, but wandering about great house, endeavoured avoid lights. At last, Aurelia's in with him, and supposing she spoke a woman, challenged play. Upon his refusing it, she drew him into midst the room, and him who he was, and whence came? said waited for Abra, Pompeia's maid, for that. His voice immediately detected him. Aurelia's ran up to the lights and the company, crying a man in house. The thing struck them all with and astonish- Aurelia put stop the ceremonies, and covered up symbols of their mysterious worship. She ordered doors be made fast, and with lighted torches hunted up for. At length Clodius found lurking in chamber maid-servant who had introduced him. The women knew him, and turned him out of the house; after which they home immediately, though it yet night, and informed their husbands of what had happened.

Next morning the report of the sacrilegious attempt spread through all Rome, and nothing talked of but that Clodius ought make satisfaction with his life to the family he offended, well the city and the gods. One of the tribunes impeached him of impiety; and the principal strengthened the charge, by accusing him, to face, of many villainous debaucheries, and among the rest, of incest with his sister, the wife of Lucullus. On the other hand, the people exerted themselves with equal vigour in his defence, and the great influence the fear of them had upon his judges was of much service. his Caesar immediately divorced Pompeia; yet, when called evidence the trial, he declared knew nothing of what was alleged against Clodius. this declaration appeared somewhat strange, demanded, why, that was the divorced his wife? "*Because,*" said he, "*I would have the chastity of wife clear of suspicion.*" Some say Caesar's evidence cording his conscience; others, that he gave to oblige people, who were set upon saving Clodius. that might, Clodius off clear; of the judges having confounded letters upon the tablets, that they might neither expose themselves to the resentment of the plebeians, if they condemned him, their credit with the patricians, if they acquitted him.

The government of Spain allotted Caesar after his prætorship.¹ circumstances were indifferent, and his creditors clamorous and troublesome he preparing for departure, he to apply to Crassus, the richest man

1 It was the government of the father comprehended that is, Portugal and Andalusia only. Th.

in Rome, who stood in need of Cæsar's warmth and vigour ■ keep ■ the balance against Pompey. Crassus, therefore, took upon him ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ inexorable of his creditors, and engaged for 830 talents ; which procured ■ ■ ■ liberty to ■ ■ ■ for ■ ■ ■ province.

It is said, that ■ ■ ■ came to ■ little town, in passing the Alps, ■ ■ ■ friends by way of mirth took occasion to say, "Can there here be any disputes for offices, any contentions for precedence, ■ such envy and ambition ■ we ■ among the great ?" To which Cæsar answered, with great seriousness, "I ■ ■ ■ you, I had rather be ■ ■ ■ first man here, ■ ■ ■ the second man in Rome."

In ■ ■ ■ we ■ ■ ■ told, ■ ■ ■ when he was in Spain, he bestowed ■ ■ ■ leisure hours on reading part of ■ ■ ■ history of Alexander, and ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ much ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ with it, that ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ pensive ■ ■ ■ long time, and ■ ■ ■ last burst out into ■ ■ ■ ■ ■. As ■ ■ ■ friends ■ ■ ■ wondering what might be the reason, he said, "*Do you think, I have ■ ■ ■ sufficient ■ ■ ■ for concern, when Alexander at my age reigned over so many conquered countries, and I have ■ ■ ■ one glorious achievement to boast ?*"

From this principle it was, that immediately upon his arrival in Spain he applied to business with great diligence, and having added ■ ■ ■ new-raised cohorts to the twenty he received there, he marched against the Callæcians and Lusitanians, defeated them, and penetrated to the ocean, reducing nations by the way that had not felt the Roman yoke. ■ ■ ■ conduct in peace ■ ■ ■ not inferior to that in the ■ ■ ■ ; *he restored harmony among the cities, ■ ■ ■ moved the occasions of quarrel between debtors and creditors. For ■ ■ ■ ordered that the creditor should have two-thirds of the debtor's income, and the debtor the remaining third, till the whole ■ ■ ■ paid.* By these ■ ■ ■ he ■ ■ ■ the province with great reputation, though he had ■ ■ ■ his own coffers and enriched ■ ■ ■ sold ■ ■ ■ with booty, who, upon one of his victories, saluted him *Imperator*.

At his ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ found himself under a troublesome dilemma : those that solicit a triumph being obliged ■ ■ ■ remain without the walls, and such as ■ ■ ■ for the consulship, to make their personal appearance in Rome. As these ■ ■ ■ things that could ■ ■ ■ reconcile, and ■ ■ ■ arrival happened at the time of the election of consuls, he applied ■ ■ ■ the ■ ■ ■ for permission ■ ■ ■ stand candidate, though absent, and offer his service by his friends. Cato strongly opposed ■ ■ ■ request, insisting on the prohibition by law ; and when ■ ■ ■ numbers influenced by Cæsar, he attempted ■ ■ ■ prevent his ■ ■ ■ by gaining time ; with which view he ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ the debate ■ ■ ■ it was ■ ■ ■ late to conclude upon anything that day. Cæsar then determined ■ ■ ■ give up the triumph, and solicit ■ ■ ■ consulship.

■ ■ ■ ■ ■ he ■ ■ ■ entered the city he ■ ■ ■ to work ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ expedient which deceived all the world except Cato. ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ reconciling of Pompey and Crassus, two of ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ power ■ ■ ■ ■ ■. By making them friends, Cæsar secured the interest of ■ ■ ■ to himself, ■ ■ ■ while he ■ ■ ■ to be only doing ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ of humanity, he ■ ■ ■ undermining the constitution. *For ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ not, what must people imagine, the disagreement ■ ■ ■ Cæsar and*

Pompey that produced the civil wars, but rather their union : they first combined to support the authority of the senate, and then effected, they parted to pursue each his designs. Cato, who prophesied what would be the consequence, was then upon a troublesome and overbusy man ;

Meantime Cæsar walked to the place of election between Crassus and Pompey ; and, under the auspices of their friendship, was consul, with distinguished honour, having Calpurnius given him for his colleague. Crassus entered upon his office ; he proposed laws not suitable to a consul as a seditious tribune ; I passed the bills for a division of lands and a distribution of corn, which were entirely calculated to please the plebeians. As the virtuous and patriotic part of the commons opposed them, Crassus furnished with the pretext he long desired : he protested in great warmth, " That they threw him into the arms of the people against his will, and that the rigorous and disgraceful opposition of the senate, under the disagreeable necessity of seeking protection from the commons." Accordingly he immediately applied to them.

Crassus planted himself on one side of him, and Pompey on the other. Crassus demanded of them aloud, " Whether they approved his laws ? " and, they answered in the affirmative, he desired their assistance against Crassus who threatened to oppose them with the sword. They declared they would assist him ; and Pompey added, " Against those who come with the sword, I will bring both sword and buckler." This expression gave the patricians great pain : it appeared not only unworthy of Crassus's character, the respect the commons had for him, and the reverence due to them, but desperate and frantic. The people, however, were pleased with it.

Cæsar was willing to avail himself still further of Pompey's interest. His daughter Julia was betrothed to Servilius Cæpio, but, notwithstanding that engagement, he gave her to Pompey ; and told Servilius he should have Pompey's daughter, whose hand was not properly liberty, for she was promised to Faustus of Sylla.—Soon after this, Cæsar married Calpurnia, daughter of Piso, and procured the consulship for Piso for the year ensuing. Meanwhile Cato exclaimed loudly against these proceedings, and called both gods and men to witness, how insupportable it was, that the first dignities of the state should be prostituted by marriages, and that this traffic of offices should gain them the governments and forces they pleased.

As for Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague, when he saw his opposition to their new laws entirely unsuccessful, and that his life, and Cato's, were often endangered in the public assemblies, he shut himself up in his house during the remainder of the year.

Immediately after this marriage, Pompey filled the forum with armed men, and got the laws passed which Cæsar had proposed merely to ingratiate himself with the people. At the same time the government of Gaul, both on this and the other side the Alps,

decreed to Caesar five ; which was added Illyricum, with four legions. As Cato spoke against these regulations, Caesar ordered him taken into custody, imagining would appeal tribunes. But when going prison without speaking word, observed that it only nobility great uneasiness, but the people, of reverence Cato's virtue, followed him melancholy silence, he whispered of the tribunes take him out of the *lictors'* hands.

Very few of body of followed Caesar this occasion to the house. The greatest part, offended such of tyranny, had withdrawn. Considius, of the oldest that attended, taking occasion to observe, "That it the soldiers and naked swords kept the rest from assembling," Caesar said, "Why does fear keep you at home too?" Considius replied, "Old is my defence; the small remains of my life deserve not much care precaution."

The disgraceful step, however, that Caesar took in his whole consulship, the getting Clodius elected tribune of the people; the same who had attempted to dishonour his bed, and had profaned the mysterious rites of the good Goddess. pitched upon him to ruin Cicero; nor would he set out for his government before he had embroiled them, and procured Cicero's banishment. For history informs us, that all these transactions preceded his Gaul. The he conducted there, and the many glorious campaigns in which he reduced that country, represent him as another man: we begin, it were, with a life, and have to follow him in a quite different track. As a warrior and a general, we behold him not in the least inferior the greatest and most admired commanders the world ever produced. For whether compare him the Fabii, the Scipios, and Metelli, with the generals of own time, those who flourished a little before him, with Sylla, Marius, the two Luculli, with Pompey himself, whose fame in every military excellence reached the skies, Caesar's achievements bear away the palm. One he surpassed in the difficulty of the of action, another in the extent of the countries he subdued; this, in the number and strength of the enemies he overcame, that, in the savage and treacherous disposition of people he humanised; in mildness and clemency his prisoners, another, in bounty and munificence to troops; and all, in the number of battles that he won, and enemies that he knew. For in less than years' in Gaul, he took eight hundred cities by assault, conquered three hundred nations, and fought pitched battles at different times with three millions men, of whom he cut in pieces, and made another million prisoners.

Such, moreover, was affection of his soldiers, and their attachment person, that they who under other commanders nothing above the rate of men, became invincible where Caesar's glory was, and met the most dreadful dangers with that nothing would resist. To give three or four instances.

Acilius, in a sea-fight near Marseilles, after he boarded one of the enemy's ships, lost his right hand off with a sword, yet still held his buckler in his left, and pushed it in the enemy's face, till he overcame them, and saved the vessel.

Cassius Scæva, in the battle of Dyrrachium, after he had an eye shot out with an arrow, his forehead wounded with one javelin, his thigh run through with another, and had received 130 darts upon his shield,¹ called out to the enemy, as if he would surrender himself. Upon this, two of them came up to him, and he gave one of them a blow on the shoulder with his sword, that the arm dropped off; the other he wounded in the face, and made him retire. His comrades then came up to his assistance, and saved his life.

In Britain, some of the vanguard happened to be entangled in a deep morass, and were there attacked by the enemy, when a private soldier, in the sight of Cæsar, threw himself into the midst of the assailants, and, after prodigious exertions of valour, beat the barbarians, and rescued the men. After which, the soldier, with much difficulty, partly by swimming partly by wading, passed the morass, but in the passage lost his shield. Cæsar and those about him, astonished at the action, ran to meet him with acclamations of joy; but the soldier, in great distress, threw himself at Cæsar's feet, and, with tears in his eyes, begged pardon for his loss of his shield.

In Africa, Scipio having taken one of Cæsar's ships, the board of which was Granius Petronius, lately appointed quaestor, put the rest to the sword, but told the quaestor, "He gave him his life." Petronius answered, "It is not the custom of Cæsar's soldiers to take, but to give quarter," and immediately plunged his sword in his breast.

This courage, and this great ambition, were cultivated and cherished, in the first place, by the generous manner in which Cæsar rewarded his troops, and the honours which he paid them: for his whole conduct showed that he did not accumulate riches in the course of his wars, to minister to luxury, or to any pleasures of his own; but that he laid them up as a common bank, to prize to himself obtained by his singular valour, and that he considered himself no farther rich than he was in condition to do justice to the merit of his soldiers. Another thing that contributed to make them invincible was their seeing Cæsar always take his share in danger, and never desire any exemption from labour and fatigue.

As for his exposing his person to danger, they were not surprised at it, because they knew his passion for glory, and they were astonished at his patience under toil, so far as all appearance above his bodily powers. For he was of a slender make, fair, of a delicate constitution, and subject to violent headaches and epileptic fits. He

¹ Cæsar (Bell. Civ. l. iii.) says, this brave soldier received 200 darts upon his shield, and adds, that he rewarded his bravery with 200,000 sesterces, as a pro-

moted him from the eighth rank to the first. He likewise ordered the soldiers of that cohort double pay, besides other military rewards.

had the first of the falling sickness at Corduba. not, however, make these disorders a pretence for indulging himself. contrary, he sought in a remedy for his infirmities, endeavouring to strengthen his constitution by long marches, by simple diet, by seldom coming under covert. Thus he contented with his distemper, and fortified himself against attacks.

When he slept, it commonly upon a march, either in a chariot or a litter, rest might be no hindrance to business. In the day-time he visited castles, cities, and fortified camps, a servant on his side, whom he employed, on such occasions, to write for him, with a soldier behind, who carried his sword. By these means he travelled fast, and with little interruption, as to reach the Rhone in eight days after his first setting out for those parts from Rome.

He was a good horseman in his early years, and brought that exercise to such perfection by practice, that he could sit in the saddle with his hands behind him. In this expedition he also accustomed himself to dictate letters as he rode on horseback, and found sufficient employment for two secretaries at once, or, according to Oppian, for three. It is also said, that Caesar was the first who contrived to communicate his thoughts by letter to his friends who were in the city with him, when any urgent affair required it, and the multitude of business or great extent of the city did not admit of an interview.

Of his indifference with respect to diet they give this remarkable proof: Happening one day at Valerius Leo, a friend of his at Milan, there was a great ointment poured upon the asparagus, instead of oil. Caesar ate of it freely, notwithstanding, and afterwards rebuked his friends for expressing their dislike of it. "It is enough," said he, "to forbear eating, if it is disagreeable to you. He who finds fault with any rusticity, is himself a rustic."

One day as he was upon an excursion, a violent storm forced him to seek shelter in a poor man's hut, where there was only one room, and that so small as to be enough for a man to sleep in. Turning, therefore, to his friends, he said, "Honours for the great, and necessities for the infirm," and immediately gave up the tent to Oppian, while himself and the rest of the company slept under a shed at the door.

His first expedition in Gaul was against the Helvetians and Tigurini, who, after having burned twelve of their towns and 400 villages, put themselves under march, in order to penetrate into Italy, through that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutones would have done before them. Nor were these adventurers inferior to any other in Gaul, and in numbers they were equal; being about 300,000, of which 100,000 were fighting men. Caesar sent his lieutenant, Labienus, against the Tigurini, who routed them near the river Arar.¹ But the Helve-

¹ Caesar says himself, that he left Labienus to guard the works he had raised from the lake of Geneva to mount Jura, and that he marched in person, at

the head of three legions, to attack the Tigurini in their passage over the Arar, now the Saône, and killed great numbers of them.

tians suddenly attacked Caesar as [REDACTED] on the march [REDACTED] confederate town.¹ He gained, however, a strong post [REDACTED] troops, notwithstanding [REDACTED] surprise; and when he had drawn them up, his horse [REDACTED] brought him. [REDACTED] upon which [REDACTED] said, "When I have [REDACTED] the battle I shall want my horse for the pursuit; [REDACTED] present, let [REDACTED] march [REDACTED] against the enemy." Accordingly [REDACTED] charged them with great vigour on foot.²

It cost him a long and [REDACTED] conflict to drive their army out of the [REDACTED]; but [REDACTED] found the greatest difficulty when he came [REDACTED] their rampart of carriages; for [REDACTED] only the men made a [REDACTED] obstinate stand there, but the very women and children fought till they [REDACTED] cut in pieces; insomuch that the battle [REDACTED] end before midnight.

To this great action he added a still greater. He collected the barbarians who [REDACTED] escaped [REDACTED] of the battle, [REDACTED] the number of 100,000, [REDACTED] upwards, and obliged them to resettle in the country they [REDACTED] relinquished, and to rebuild the cities they [REDACTED] burned. This [REDACTED] did, in fear that if the country [REDACTED] left without inhabitants, the Germans would pass the Rhine, and seize it.

His second war [REDACTED] in defence of the Gauls against the Germans,³ though he had before honoured their king Ariovistus with the title of [REDACTED] ally of Rome. They proved insupportable neighbours to those he had subdued, and it [REDACTED] easy to see, that instead of being satisfied with their present acquisitions, if opportunity offered, they would extend their conquests over all Gaul. He found, however, his officers, particularly those of the young nobility, afraid of this expedition; for they had [REDACTED] entered into Caesar's service only in the hopes of living luxuriously and making their fortunes. He therefore called them together, and told them, before the whole army, "That they [REDACTED] at liberty [REDACTED] retire, and needed not hazard their persons against their inclinations, since they were [REDACTED] unmanly and spiritless. For his part, he would march [REDACTED] the tenth legion only against these barbarians: for they [REDACTED] neither better [REDACTED] than the Cimbrians, [REDACTED] he a worse general than Marius." Upon this, the tenth legion deputed [REDACTED] of their corps [REDACTED] thank him. The other legions laid the whole blame upon their officers, and all followed him with great spirit and alacrity. After [REDACTED] march of several days, they encamped within 200 furlongs of the enemy.

Caesar's arrival broke the confidence of Ariovistus. Instead of expecting that the Romans would [REDACTED] and attack him, [REDACTED] had

¹ [REDACTED]s, now Autun.

² He sent back his horse and the rest [REDACTED] his example. Thus he did to prevent all hopes of a retreat, as well as to show his troops that he [REDACTED] take his share in all the danger. Vide Bell. Gall. lib. i.

³ [REDACTED] implored his protection against Ariovistus, king [REDACTED] Germans. who, taking aantage [REDACTED]

which he had long [REDACTED] them and the Arverni, he had joined [REDACTED] last year, made himself master of great part of the country of the Sequani, and obliged [REDACTED] to give him their children as [REDACTED]. The Arverni were the people of Autun; the Arverni of Auvergne; [REDACTED] Bell. Gall. lib. i.

supposed they would not dare to [] the Germans when they went in quest [] them. [] was much surprised, therefore, [] attempt of Caesar, and, what was worse, [] his [] troops were disheartened. *They were dispirited still [] by the prophecies of their matrons, [] had the [] of divining, and used to do it by the eddies of rivers, [] windings, the murmurs, [] other noise [] by the stream.* [] occasion, they charged [] army not to give [] before the [] appeared.

Caesar having got information of these matters, and seeing the Germans lie close in their camp, thought it better to [] them while thus dejected, than [] sit still and wait their time. For this [] [] attacked their entrenchments and the [] upon which they [] posted, which provoked them to such a degree that they descended in great fury to the plain. They fought, and [] tirely routed. Caesar pursued them to the Rhine, which [] furlongs [] field of battle, covering all the way with dead [] spoils. Ariovistus reached the river in time enough to [] with a few troops. The number of killed is said [] have amounted to eighty thousand.

After he had thus terminated the war, he [] his army in winter quarters in the country of [] Sequani, and repaired to Gaul, on this side the Po, which was part of his province, in order to have an eye upon the transactions [] Rome. *For the river Rubicon parts the rest of Italy from Cisalpine Gaul.* During his stay there he carried [] a variety of state intrigues. Great numbers came from Rome [] pay their respects to him, and he [] them all away satisfied; [] laden with presents, and others happy [] hope. In the [] manner throughout all his wars, without Pompey's observing it, he was conquering his enemies by the [] of [] citizens, and gaining the citizens, by the money of his enemies.

As soon as [] had intelligence that the Belgæ, who were the [] powerful people in Gaul, and whose territories made up a third part of [] whole country, had revolted [] assembled a great army, [] marched to that quarter with incredible expedition. He found them ravaging the lands of those Gauls who were [] of Rome, defeating the main body, which made but a feeble [] distance, and [] such numbers, that lakes and rivers were [] the dead, [] bridges [] formed of their bodies. Such of the insurgents as [] upon [] coast, surrendered without []

He [] [] army against the Nervii,¹ who live among [] woods. After they had secured their families [] most valuable goods, [] manner they could, in the heart of a large forest, at a great distance from the enemy, they marched, to the number of 60,000, and [] Caesar, as [] fortifying [] camp, [] least notion [] such an attack.² They []

¹ [] country is now called [] and []

² As this attack was unexpected, Caesar [] in a manner, everything to [] the

routed the cavalry, and then the twelfth legion, killed all the officers. Not Caesar of his men, his way through before him, and rushed upon the barbarians; or had the tenth legion, seeing his danger, ran from the heights where they posted, and mowed down the enemy's ranks, in all probability would have survived the battle. Though, encouraged by this of Caesar, they fought with spirit above their strength, they were able to make Nervii backs. Those brave maintained their ground, and were to pieces upon spot. It is said that 60,000 not above 500 saved, and out of 400 Nervian above th-

Upon the news of this great victory, the of Rome decreed that sacrifices should be offered, and all of festivities kept up, for days together, which was a longer of rejoicing than had been known before. Indeed, danger appeared very great, on account of many nations rising once; Caesar who surmounted it, the affection people had for him made the rejoicing more brilliant. After he had settled the affairs of Gaul, on the other side the Alps, he crossed them again, and wintered near the Po, in order to maintain his interest in Rome; where the candidates for the great offices of state were supplied with money out of his funds to corrupt the people, and after they had carried their election, did everything to extend his power. Nay, the great and illustrious went to pay their court to him at Lucca, among whom were Pompey, Crassus, Appius, governor of Sardinia, and Nepos, pro-consul in Spain. So that there were victors attending their masters, and above 200 honoured with assiduities. After they had upon a plan of business, they parted. Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls the year ensuing, and, Caesar's government prolonged for five years more, with supplies of the treasury his occasions. The particular appeared extremely absurd all men of. They who received much of Caesar's money, persuaded the senate to give him money, as if he was in want of it; or rather, they insisted it should be done, and every honest man

same instant. The banner was to be wrecked, the charge sounded, the soldiers at a distance recalled, the army drawn up, and the signal given. In this surprise he ran from place to place, exhorting his men to remember their former valour; and having drawn them up in the could, the signal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous resistance; but as the enemy either to conquer or die, the success was different places. In the wing the wonders, drove the bounding river, and made a great slaughter of them. In an-

other place the eighth and eleventh legions repulsed the Vermandui, and drove them before them. But in the right wing the seventh and twelfth legions suffered extremely. They were entirely surrounded by the Nervii, all the centurions of the fourth cohort being slain, and most of the other officers wounded. In this extremity, Caesar snatched a private man, put himself at head of his broken wing, and joined by the two legions which left to guard the baggage, fell upon the Nervii, already fatigued, with fresh vigour, and dreadful them.

sighed inwardly while he ■ the decree ■ pass. Cato, indeed, ■ absent, having been ■ with a commission ■ Cyprus ■ purpose ■ he might ■ of the way. But Favonius, who trod ■ Cato's steps, vigorously opposed those measures; and when ■ that ■ opposition availed nothing, he left the house, and applied ■ the people, exclaiming against such pernicious counsels. No one, however, attended to him; *some being overawed by Pompey and Crassus, and others influenced by regard for Cæsar.* ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ smile alone they lived and all their hopes flourished.

Cæsar, ■ his ■ army ■ Gaul, found another furious ■ lighted up in the country; the Usipetes and the Teucteri,¹ ■ great ■ nations, having crossed the Rhine to make ■ q ■ The account of the affair with them ■ shall take from Cæsar's ■ Commentaries. These barbarians ■ deputies ■ him to propose ■ suspension of arms, which ■ granted ■ Nevertheless they attacked ■ as he was making an excursion ■ only ■ horse, however, who ■ prepared for an engagement, ■ beat their cavalry, which consisted of five thousand. Next day they ■ other deputies ■ apologise for what had happened, but without any other intention than that of deceiving him again. These agents of theirs he detained, and marched immediately against them; thinking it absurd to stand upon honour with such perfidious men, who had not scrupled to violate the truce. Yet Canusius writes, that when the ■ were voting ■ public thanksgiving and procession on account of the victory, Cato proposed that Cæsar should be delivered up to the barbarians, to expiate that breach of faith, ■ make the divine vengeance fall upon its author rather than upon Rome.

Of the barbarians that had passed the Rhine, there were 400,000 killed. The few who escaped, repassed the river, and ■ sheltered by a people of Germany called Sicambri. *Cæsar laid hold ■ this pretence against that people, but his true motive ■ an avidity of fame, ■ the first Roman that ■ crossed the Rhine in a hostile ■* In pursuance of his design, he threw ■ bridge ■ it, though ■ was remarkably wide in that place, and ■ same time so rough and rapid, that it carried down with it trunks of trees, and other timber, which much shocked ■ weakened the pillars of his bridge. But he drove great piles of wood into the bottom of ■ river above the bridge, both to resist the impression of such bodies, and to break the force of the torrent. By ■ he exhibited ■ spectacle astonishing ■ thought, ■ immense

■ The people of the Marck and of Westphalia, ■ of Munster and Cleves.

This war happened under ■ consulship of Crassus and Pompey, which was in the year of Rome 693. But there were several intermediate transactions of great importance, which Plutarch has omitted, viz. The reduction of the Adiaci by Cæsar; ■ nations by P. Cæsar, the son of the triumvir; others

of sub- ■ several ■ beyond ■ Rhine; the attempt upon ■ in his winter quarters ■ Octodurus, ■ his brave defence and victory; the severe chastisement of the Veneti, who had revolted; and the complete reduction of Aquitaine. These particulars are contained in part of the second and the whole third book of the War in Gaul.

...ge finished in ... days. His army passed ...
 opposition, ... Suevi ... the Sicambri, ...
 Germany, having retired into the heart of ...,
 cealed themselves in cavities overhung with wood. ... laid ...
 enemy's country with fire, ... confirmed the ...
 Germans in ... interest of ... after which ... into
 Gaul, having spent ... than eighteen days ... Germany.

of expedition Britain discovered daring spirit of enterprise. For he was the first who entered the western ocean with a fleet, and embarking his troops on the Atlantic, carried war into an island whose very existence was doubted. Some writers had represented it incredibly large that others its being, and considered both the name and the thing as a fiction. Caesar attempted to conquer it, and to extend the Roman empire beyond the bounds of the world. He sailed twice from the opposite coast in Gaul, and fought many battles, by which the Britons suffered more than the Romans gained; for there was nothing worth taking from a people who were so poor, and lived in wretchedness. He did not, however, terminate the war in the manner he could have wished; he only received hostages of the king, and appointed the tribute the island was to pay, and then returned to Gaul.

There he received letters, which were going to be sent to him, and by which his [redacted] in Rome informed him, that [redacted] daughter, [redacted] wife of Pompey, had lately died in childbed. This [redacted] a [redacted] affliction both to Pompey and Caesar. Their friends, too, were very sensibly concerned to see that alliance dissolved which kept up the peace and harmony of the state, otherwise in a very unsettled condition. For the child survived the mother only a few days. The people took the body of Julia, and carried it, notwithstanding [redacted] prohibition of the tribunes, [redacted] *Campus Martius*, where it [redacted] interred.

Caesar's army was now very large; he forced it to divide it for the convenience of winter-quarters; after which he took the road to Italy, according to custom. But he was long before the Gauls, who again, traversed the country with their armies, fell upon the Roman quarters with great fury, insulted their entrenchments. The strongest body of the insurgents was that under Ambiorix, who attacked Cotta and Titurius in their camp, and cut them off with their whole party. After which, he went and besieged the legion under the command of Q. Cicero, with 60,000 men; and though

1 The Uldi, the people of Colono

It does not appear that there is much corn in Britain in comparison with the inhabitants, he says.

2 The army consisted of 100000 soldiers ; the country, the consequence of measures brought forward by the Government, was obliged to surrender.

Join teams for their better

He was therefore under the necessity of fixing the quarters in such a manner, which would otherwise have been impossible. He tells us (vol. v.) that all the regions, except one, which was in a quiet state, were the theatre of the war of 1800 miles.

would have been dreadful Italy now, of Cimbri formerly.

Cæsar, knew perfectly to every advantage war, particularly of time, no informed this great defection, than he out to chastise its authors, by the swiftness of his march, in spite of all the difficulties of severe winter, he showed the barbarians that his troops could neither be conquered nor resisted. For where a courier could have been supposed in many days, Cæsar was seen with his whole army, ravaging the country, destroying the castle, storming cities, and receiving the submission of which repented. Thus on, till Edui¹ also revolted, who had styled themselves brothers to Romans, and had been treated with particular regard. Their joining the insurgents spread uneasiness and dismay throughout Cæsar's army. He, therefore, decamped in haste, and traversed the country of the Lingones,² in order to come into that of Sequani,³ who his friends, and nearer to Italy than of the Gauls.

The enemy followed him thither in prodigious numbers, and surrounded him. Cæsar, without being in the least disconcerted, sustained the conflict, and after a long and bloody action, in which the Gorman particularly serviceable to him, gave them a total defeat. But he have received check at first, the Arverni still show a sword suspended in of their temples, which they declare taken Cæsar. His friends pointed it out to him afterwards, but he only laughed; and when they were for having it taken down, he would not suffer it, because he considered it a thing consecrated the gods.

Most of those who escaped of the battle, retired into Alesia⁴ with their king. Cæsar immediately invested the town, though it appeared impregnable, well on account of the height of the walls the number of troops there was to defend it. During the siege he found himself exposed a danger from without, which makes imagination giddy think on. the bravest Gaul assembled from every quarter, and armed the relief of the place, number of 300,000; and there less than 70,000 combatants within the walls. Thus shut up between armies, was forced draw two lines of circumvallation, the interior one against the town, and that without against the troops that to its succour; for, could the armies have joined, he been absolutely lost. This dangerous action Alesia tributed Cæsar's renown on many. Indeed, he exerted a more adventurous courage greater generalship than on any other occasion. what seems very astonishing, is, that he could and conquer many myriads without, and keep the

¹ people of Alesia, Lyons, Narbonne, upon Rhone, and Ebro.

² The district of Langres.

³ The district of Besençon.

⁴ Cæsar calls Alesia now Alais.

action ■ ■ to the troops ■ ■ town.¹ It ■ ■ more wonderful that the Romans, who were ■ ■ before the walls, should ■ ■ know it, till the victory ■ ■ announced by the cries of the ■ ■ in ■ ■ and the lamentations of the women, who ■ ■ the Romans on each side of ■ ■ bringing to their ■ ■ a number of shields adorned with gold and silver, helmets stained with blood, drinking vessels, and ■ ■ of the Gaulish fashion. Thus did this ■ ■ multi- ■ ■ vanish and disappear like a phantom, or ■ ■ dream, ■ ■ greatest part being killed on ■ ■ spot.

The besieged, after having given both themselves and Caesar much trouble, ■ ■ last surrendered. *Their general, Vercingetorix, armed himself and equipped his horse in the most magnificent manner, and then sallied out at the gate. After he had taken ■ ■ circuits about Caesar ■ ■ he sat upon the tribunal, he dismounted, put off his armour, and placed himself at Caesar's feet, where he remained ■ ■ profound silence, till Caesar ordered ■ ■ guard to ■ ■ him away, and keep him for his triumph.*

Caesar ■ ■ been ■ ■ time resolved to ruin Pompey, and Pompey to destroy Caesar. For Crassus, who alone could have taken up the conqueror, being killed in the Parthian war, there remained nothing for Caesar to do, to make himself the greatest of mankind, but to annihilate him that was so, nor for Pompey to prevent it, but ■ ■ take off the man he feared. It is true, it ■ ■ no long time that Pompey had entertained any fear of him; he had rather looked upon him, with contempt, imagining he could ■ ■ easily pull him down as he had set him up: whereas Caesar, from the first, designing to ruin his rivals, had retired at a distance, like ■ ■ champion, for exercise. By long service and great achievements in the wars of Gaul, he had ■ ■ improved ■ ■ army, and his ■ ■ reputation too, that he was considered as on ■ ■ footing with Pompey; and he found pretences for carrying his enterprise into execution, in ■ ■ times of the misgovernment at Rome. These ■ ■ partly furnished by Pompey himself; and indeed *all ranks of men were so corrupted that tables were publicly set out, upon which the candidates for offices ■ ■ professedly ready ■ ■ pay the people the price of their votes; and the people ■ ■ not only to give their voices for the ■ ■ who had bought them, but with all ■ ■ of offensive weapons to fight for him.* Hence it often happened that they did not part without polluting the tribunal with blood and murder, and the city was ■ ■ perpetual ■ ■ of anarchy. In ■ ■ dismal situation of things in these ■ ■ of epidemic madness, wise men thought ■ ■ would be happy if they ended ■ ■ nothing worse than monarchy. Nay, there ■ ■ many who scrupled not to declare publicly, that monarchy was ■ ■ only cure for the desperate disorders of the state, and ■ ■ physician ought ■ ■ be pitched upon, who would apply that remedy with ■ ■ gentlest ■ ■: by which they hinted at Pompey.

Pompey, in all his discourse, pretended ■ ■ dec ■ ■ honour ■ ■ dictatorship, though ■ ■ the ■ ■ time every step ■ ■ took ■ ■

¹ Caesar says, that those in the town had a distinct view of the battle.

directed way. Cato, understanding his drift, persuaded him to declare him sole consul that, satisfied with a kind of monarchy agreeable to law, he might adopt any violent measure to make himself dictator. The people not only agreed to this, but continued in his governments of Spain and Africa, the administration of which he committed to his lieutenants; keeping armies there, for whose maintenance he was allowed 1,000 talents a year out of the public treasury.

Upon this, Cæsar applied, by his friends, for another consulship, and for the continuance of his commission in Gaul, answerable to that of Pompey. As Pompey was at first silent, Marcellus and Lentulus, who hated Cæsar on other accounts, opposed it with great violence, omitting nothing, whether right or wrong, that might reflect dishonour upon him. For they disfranchised the inhabitants of Novocomum in Gaul, which had lately been erected into a colony by Cæsar; and Marcellus, then consul, caused one of their senators, who came to Rome with complaints to Rome, to be beaten with rods, and telling him, "The marks are on your back so many additional proofs that he is a Roman citizen," bade him go show them to Cæsar.

But after the consulship of Marcellus, Cæsar opened the treasures he had amassed in Gaul, to all that were concerned in the administration, and satisfied their utmost wishes; he paid off the vast debts of Curio, a tribune; he presented the consul Paulus with 1500 talents, which he employed in building the celebrated public hall near the forum, in the place where that of Fulvius had stood. Pompey, now alarmed at the increase of Cæsar's faction, openly exerted his interest, and that of his friends, to procure an order for a successor to Cæsar in Gaul. He also demanded the troops he had lent him, for his wars in that country, and Cæsar returned them with a gratuity of 250 drachmas to each man.

Those who conducted these troops back, spread reports among the people which were neither favourable nor fair with respect to Cæsar, which ruined Pompey with vain hopes. They asserted that Pompey had the hearts of all Cæsar's soldiers, and that envy and a corrupt administration kept him from gaining what he desired at Rome, the forces of Gaul at his service, which would declare for him immediately upon their entering Italy; that Cæsar become, by hurrying them perpetually on expedition to another, and by the suspicions they were of him aiming at absolute power.

Pompey was so much elated with these assurances that he attempted to levy troops, as if he had nothing to fear, and opposed his enemy only with speeches and decrees, which Cæsar made no account of. Nay, we are told, a centurion whom Cæsar sent to Rome, waiting the door of the senate-house, the result of their deliberations, being informed that Pompey intended to give Cæsar a longer term in his commission, laid his hand upon his sword, and said, "I shall give it."

Indeed, Cæsar's requisitions had a great effect in justice

and honour. [] proposed to lay down [] condition Pompey would [] the same, and that they should both, as private citizens, leave it [] their country [] reward their services : [] deprive him of his commission and troops, and continue Pompey's, was [] give absolute power [] the one, to which the other [] justly accused of aspiring. Curio, who made these propositions [] the people [] behalf of Cæsar, [] received with [] loudest plaudits : and there [] some who [] threw chaplets [] flowers upon him, [] they would upon a champion victorious in [] ring.

Antony, [] of the tribunes of the people, then produced a [] from Cæsar [] purport, and caused [] to be read, notwithstanding the opposition it met with from the consuls. Hereupon, Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, proposed in the senate, that if Cæsar [] lay down his arms by such a day, he should be declared [] enemy to the state ; and the consuls putting it [] the question, " Whether Pompey should dismiss his forces ? " and again, " Whether Cæsar should disband his ? " few of the [] for the first, and almost [] for the second.¹ After which Antony put the question, " Whether both should lay down their commissions ? " and all with one voice answered in the affirmative. But the violent rage of Scipio, and the clamours of the consul Lentulus, who cried out, that " Not decrees but [] should be employed against a public robber," made the senate break up ; and [] account of the unhappy dissension, all ranks of people put [] black, as in a time of public mourning.

Soon after this, other letters arrived from Cæsar with more moderate proposals. He [] to abandon [] the rest, provided they would continue [] him the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with two legions, [] he could apply for a second consulship. And Cicero, [] was lately returned from Cilicia, and very desirous of effecting a reconciliation, used [] possible means [] soften Pompey. Pompey agreed to all but the article of the two legions ; and Cicero endeavoured [] accommodate the matter, by persuading Cæsar's friends [] satisfied with the two provinces and 6,000 soldiers only. Pompey [] on [] point of accepting [] promise, when Lentulus the consul, rejecting it with disdain, treated Antony [] Curio with great indignity, and drove them [] of the senate-house. Thus he furnished Cæsar with the [] plausible argument imaginable, and he failed [] make [] to exasperate his troops, by showing them persons of distinction, [] magistrates, obliged to fly in hired carriages, [] habit of slaves,² for their [] had [] them leave [] disguise.

Cæsar [] then with him above 300 horse and 5,000 foot. The [] forces [] on [] other side of [] Al[]

¹ No says, there was not a man for the first question, whereas the whole house was for the second, except Cælius and Curio. Nor is this to be wondered at ;

Pompey was then at [] with his army.

² Cæsar's legions were [] with them [] the same disguise.

had them orders to join him. But he the beginning of his enterprise, and attack he meditated require any great numbers : enemies were rather struck with sterneration by the boldness and expedition with which he began operations ; for unexpected movement would more likely make impression upon them then, than great preparations afterwards. He, therefore, ordered lieutenants other officers take their swords, without any other armour, make themselves of Ariminum, a great city in Gaul, but to take all possible care that no blood should be disturbance raised. Hortensius was the of this party. As for himself, spent day a public show of gladiators ; a little before evening bathed, and then went into the apartment, where he entertained company. When it was growing dark, left the company, after having desired them to make merry return which they would have long to wait for. To of his friends he had given previous notice to follow him, together, but by different ways. Then taking a hired carriage, he out a different way from that which led to Ariminum, and turned into that road afterwards.

When he arrived at the of the Rubicon, which divides Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, his reflections became interesting in proportion the danger grew Staggered by the greatness of his attempt, he stopped, weigh within himself its inconveniences ; and, he stood revolving in silence the arguments on both sides, he many times changed his opinion. After which, deliberated upon it with such of friends as were by, among whom Asinius Pollio ; enumerating the calamities which the passage of that river would bring upon the world, and the reflections that might made upon it by posterity. At last, upon some sudden impulse, bidding adieu to his reasonings, and plunging into the abyss of futurity, in the words of those who embark in full and arduous enterprises, he cried out, " The is cast ! " and immediately passed the river. travelled the the of the way, that he reached Ariminum before day-light, and took it. It is said, that the preceding night he had a abominable dream ; he thought he lay with mother.

After the taking Ariminum, as if opened wide its gates both by and land, and Cæsar, by going beyond bounds of his province, infringed the laws of country : not individuals on other occasions, wandering distraction about Italy, but whole cities broken up, seeking refuge by flight. of tumultuous tide flowed into Rome, and it so with the hasty conflux of circling people, that violent agitation it hardly obey magistrate, listen to the voice of reason, but in no danger of falling by violence ; whole was a prey to contrary passions and violent convulsions. Those who favoured were with enjoying then private, reproached other party, their sorrows, and

insulted them with menaces of [] was [] [], which is the necessary consequence of such troubles in a great city.

Pompey himself, who [] already confounded at [] [] things had taken, [] still more [] by a variety of censures [] his conduct. Some said, he justly suffered for exalting Cæsar against [] and his country; others, for permitting Lentulus [] overrule him, when Cæsar departed from his first demands, and offered equitable terms of peace. Favonius went [] far [] to bid him "Stamp with his foot;" alluding to a vaunting speech he had made in the senate, in which he bade them take no preparations for the war; for, [] [] he marched out of Rome, [] he [] but stamp with [] foot, [] should fill Italy with his legions.

Pompey, however, [] that time [] not inferior in numbers to Cæsar, but his partisans would not suffer him [] proceed according [] [] opinion. By false reports and groundless terrors, [] if the enemy was [] the gates, and [] carried all before him, they forced him along with the general torrent. He had it decreed, therefore, that things were in a tumultuous state, and nothing [] he expected but hostilities; and then left Rome, having first ordered the senate, and every man to follow, who preferred his country and liberty to the rod of a tyrant. The consuls too fled with him, without offering the sacrifices which custom required before they took their departure from Rome. [] of the [] snatched up those things in their houses that were next [] hand, [] if the whole was not their own, and joined in the flight. Nay, there were some, who before were well affected [] Cæsar, that in the present [] changed sides, and suffered themselves without necessity to be carried away by the torrent. What a miserable spectacle was the city then! In so dreadful a tempest, like a ship abandoned by its pilots, tossed about at all adventures, and at the mercy of the winds and []. But though flight was so unpromising an alternative, such [] *the love the Romans had for Pompey, that they considered the place he retired to as their country, and Rome as the [] of Cæsar.* For even Labienus, [] of Cæsar's principal friends, who, in quality of his lieutenant, had served under [] with the greatest alacrity in the wars of Gaul, now [] [] to Pompey. Nevertheless Cæsar [] him his money and his [].

After this, Cæsar invested Corfinium, where Domitius, with thirty cohorts, commanded [] Pompey. Domitius¹ in despair ordered [] of his, who was his physician, to give [] poison. He took the draught prepared for him, [] a [] [] death; but soon after, hearing of Cæsar's extraordinary clemency to his prisoners, he lamented his own case and [] hasty resolution he had taken. Upon which the physician removed his fears, by assuring him that what he [] drunk was a sleeping potion, [] a

¹ Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus was nominated to succeed Cæsar, pursuant to the decree of the senate, in the govern-

ment of Transalpine Gaul; but he imprudently shot himself up in Cæsar's way before he left Italy.

cus, ■■■■ court ■■■■ Cæsar, opposed it. *The senate declared* ■■■■ dictator, and while he held that office, he recalled ■■■■ exiles; he restored ■■■■ their honours the children of those who had ■■■■ under Sylla; and relieved debtors by cancelling part of ■■■■ usury. These, and a few more, were his ■■■■ during his dictatorship, which ■■■■ down in eleven days. After this, ■■■■ caused himself ■■■■ he declared consul with Servilius Isauricus, and ■■■■ went ■■■■ prosecute the ■■■■ He marched ■■■■ fast to Brundisium, that all ■■■■ troops could not keep up with him. However, he embarked with only 600 ■■■■ horse and five legions. ■■■■ the time of ■■■■ winter solstice, the beginning of January, which ■■■■ the Athenian month *Possideon*, that he set sail. ■■■■ crossed the Ionian, made ■■■■ of Oricum and Apollonia, and ■■■■ back ■■■■ his ships to Brundisium ■■■■ bring ■■■■ forces that ■■■■ behind. ■■■■ those troops, exhausted with fatigue, and tired ■■■■ with the multitude of enemies they ■■■■ engage with, ■■■■ out into complaints against Cæsar, as they ■■■■ upon their march ■■■■ the port, "Whither will this man lead us," said they, "and where will be the end of ■■■■ labours? ■■■■ he harass ■■■■ for ever, as if we had limbs of ■■■■ or bodies of iron? But iron itself yields to repeated blows; our very shields and cuirasses call out for ■■■■ Will not Cæsar learn from our wounds that ■■■■ mortal, that ■■■■ have the same feelings, ■■■■ are ■■■■ to the ■■■■ impressions with other men? The gods themselves ■■■■ force the seasons, or clear the winter seas of ■■■■ tempests. And it is in this season that he would expose us, as if he ■■■■ flying from ■■■■ enemies, rather than pursuing them."

Amidst such discourse as this, they moved on slowly to Brundisium. But when they arrived there, and found that Cæsar was gone, they changed their language, and reproached themselves ■■■■ traitors to their general. They vented their anger upon their officers, too, for not hastening their march. And sitting upon ■■■■ cliffs, they kept their eyes upon the ■■■■ towards Epirus, ■■■■ see ■■■■ they could discover the transports that were to fetch them.

Meantime Cæsar, not having a sufficient force ■■■■ Apollonia ■■■■ make head against the enemy, and seeing the troops ■■■■ Brundisium delayed ■■■■ join him, to relieve himself from the anxiety and perplexity ■■■■ in, undertook ■■■■ astonishing enterprise. Though the sea ■■■■ covered with the enemy's fleets, he resolved ■■■■ embark ■■■■ vessel of twelve oars, without acquainting any person with ■■■■ intention, and sail ■■■■ Brundisium.¹ ■■■■ night, therefore, he ■■■■ the habit of ■■■■ slave, and throwing ■■■■ self ■■■■ the

1 ■■■■ sent them back under the conduct of Calenus. ■■■■ officer, losing opportunity of the wind, fell in with Bibulus, who took thirty of his ships, and burned ■■■■ together ■■■■ their pilots and mariners, in order to obstruct the rest.

2 Most historians blame this as a rash action, and Cæsar himself, in his Com-

mentarius, makes no mention of this, or any other less dangerous attempt. It is related by ■■■■ he ■■■■ making war ■■■■ Gaul, ■■■■ the Gauls had ■■■■ his army in his absence, he drowned himself like a native of the country, and in that disguise passed through the enemy's sentinels and troops to his own camp.

vessel like a man of account, sat there in silence. They ran down the river Anias for the sea, where the current is generally easy, because the land-wind, rising in the morning, aided to set off the current of sea and smooth the mouth of the river. But unluckily that night a strong sea-wind sprung up which overpowered that from the land; so that by the rage of the sea and the counteraction of the stream, the river became extremely rough; the vessels dashed against each other with a tumultuous noise, and formed such dangerous eddies, that the pilot despaired of making good his passage, and ordered the mariners to return back. Caesar, perceiving this, came up, and showing himself to the pilot, who was greatly astonished at the sight of him, said, "Go forward, my friend, and fear nothing; thou carriest Caesar and his fortune." The mariners then forgot the storm, and plying their oars with the utmost speed and alacrity, endeavoured to overcome the resistance of the current. But such was their violence at the mouth of the river, and the current flowed so fast into the vessel, that Caesar at last, though with great reluctance, permitted the pilot to turn back. Upon his return to his camp, the soldiers met him in crowds, pouring out their complaints, and expressing the greatest concern that he did not assure himself of conquering with them only, but, in distrust of their support, gave himself so much uneasiness and exposed his person to so much danger on account of his absence.

Soon after, Antony arrived from Brundisium with the troops.¹ Caesar, then in the highest spirits, offered battle to Pompey, who was encamped in an advantageous manner, and abundantly supplied with provisions both from sea and land; whereas Caesar at first had no great plenty, but afterwards fell in extreme want. The soldiers, however, found great relief from a root² in the adjoining fields, which they prepared in milk. Sometimes they made it into bread, and going up to the enemy's advanced guards, threw it in among them, and declared, "That as long as the earth produced such roots, they would certainly besiege Pompey."

Pompey would not suffer either such bread to be produced, or such speeches to be reported in his camp; for his men were already discouraged, and ready to shudder at the thought of the impenetrable hardness of Caesar's troops, who could bear so much as many wild beasts. There were frequent skirmishes about Pompey's entrenchments,³ and Caesar had the advantage in them all,

¹ Antony and Fulvius bore the vessels which had crossed the Tiber, 800 horse and four legions, that is, three old ones, and one that had been newly raised; and when they were loaded, Antony sent back the ships for the rest of the forces.

² This root was called *Clava*. Some of Caesar's soldiers, who had served in Sardinia, had there learned to make bread of it.

³ Caesar discovered an old camp which he had occupied in a place where Pom-

pey was enclosed, and afterwards abandoned. Upon his quitting it, Pompey had taken possession of it, and left a legion to guard it. Pompey attempted to retake it, and it was in this attempt that he lost 900 foot, 400 horse, among whom were several Roman knights, 5 tribunes, and 20 centurions. Pompey now that Pompey was enclosed, as in fact he was on the land-side, by a line of circumvallation drawn by Caesar.

except one, [] which his party was forced to fly with such precipitation [] [] was in danger of having his camp taken. Pompey headed [] attack in person, and [] a [] could stand before him. He drove them upon their [] lines in [] confusion, and [] their trenches with the dead.

Cæsar [] meet them, and would have rallied the fugitives, but it [] [] in his power. He [] hold [] the ensign staves [] stop them, and [] left them in his hands, and others threw them upon [] ground, insomuch that no less than 32 standards [] taken. Cæsar himself was very near losing his life ; for having laid [] of [] tall and strong man, [] stop him and make him face about, the soldier in his terror and confusion lifted up his sword to strike him ; but Cæsar's armour-bearer prevented [] by [] blow which [] off his [].

Cæsar saw his affairs that day in so bad a posture, that after Pompey, either through too much caution, or the caprice of fortune, instead of giving the finishing stroke to [] great an action, stopped [] soon [] he had shut up the enemy within their entrenchments, and sounded [] retreat, he said to his friends [] he withdrew, "*This dry victory would have declared for the enemy, if they had had [] general who knew how to conquer.*" He sought repose in his tent, but it proved the most melancholy night of his life ; for he gave himself up to endless reflections on his own misconduct in the war. He considered how wrong it was, when the wide countries and rich cities of Macedonia and Thessaly [] before him, to confine himself to [] narrow [] scene of action, and sit still by the sea, while the enemy's fleets had the superiority, and [] [] place where he suffered the inconveniences of a siege from want of provisions, rather than besiege the enemy by his arms. Thus agitated and distressed by the perplexities and difficulties of his situation, [] resolved [] de-camp, and march against Scipio in Macedonia ; concluding, that he should either draw Pompey after him, and force him [] fight where [] could not receive supplies, [] he had done, from the sea ; [] else that he should easily crush Scipio, if he found him [] supported.

Pompey's troops and officers were greatly elated [] this retreat of Cæsar ; they considered it as a flight and [] acknowledgment that he [] beaten, and therefore wanted to pursue. But Pompey himself was unwilling to hazard a [] of such consequence. He [] well provided with everything requisite for waiting the advantages of time, and for that [] chose, by protracting the war, [] [] the little vigour the enemy had left. The most valuable [] Cæsar's troops had, indeed, an experience and courage, which [] irresistible in the field ; but [] had made them unfit [] long marches, for throwing up entrenchments, [] attacking walls, and passing whole nights under arms. They [] [] unwieldy to endure much fatigue, and their inclination for labour lessened with their strength. Besides there was said [] [] contagious distemper [] them, which arose from their strange and bad [] ; [] what [] a still [] important circumstance, Cæsar wanted

provisions, so that it shortly fall himself.

Pompey's reasons for declining a battle ; a except Cato, was of opinion ; and he, only, because he was willing spare the of his countrymen, when of enemy, who fell late action, number of 1,000, lie dead upon the field, he covered face, and retired, weeping. All the censured Pompey for deciding the immediately with the sword, calling him *Agamemnon*, *King of kings*, if unwilling to be deprived of the monarchy was in possession of, and delighted to many generals waiting his orders, their Favonius, who imitate Cato's bold of speaking, but carried it much lamented that Pompey's wasting keep kingly had got would prevent their eating figs year Tusculum. And Afranius, lately come from Spain, where he succeeded ill in his command, that he accused of having been betray his army, asked Pompey, "Why he fight that merchant who trafficked in provinces?"

Piqued these reproaches, Pompey, against his own judgment, marched after Cæsar, who proceeded on his route with great difficulty ; for, account of his great loss, all looked upon him with contempt, and refused supply him with provisions. However, upon his taking Gomphi,¹ a in Thessaly, his troops not only found sufficient refreshment, but recovered surprisingly of the distemper ; for, drinking plentifully of the wine they found there, and afterwards marching on in a Bacchanalian manner, the turn their blood took threw off the disorder, and gave them another of body.

When armies encamped opposite each other on plains of *Pharsalia*, Pompey returned his opinion ; in which he was confirmed by some unlucky omens, and alarming dream. dreamed that the people of Rome received him in the theatre loud plaudits, and that he adorned the chapel of *Venus Nicephora*, from whom Cæsar derived his pedigree. Pompey alarmed, those about him so absurdly sanguine in their expectations of victory, that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, quarrelled about Cæsar's pontificate ; and numbers Rome, engage houses convenient for consuls and prætors, making themselves sure of being raised to those high after the cavalry the greatest impatience for a battle ; so proud they of their of the condition their horses, the beauty and vigour of their persons : besides, they much more than Cæsar's, being 7,000 thou- Nor numbers of infantry equal ; Pompey 45,000, Cæsar only twenty-two thousand.

¹ Cæsar, perceiving of how much importance it was service to make himself master of place before Pompey Scipio could come gave a

general assault, about three in the afternoon, and, though the walls were very high, carried before

Cæsar called his soldiers together, and **to** them, "That Cornificius was well advanced on his **to** **to** two **to** legions, **to** **to** cohorts under the command of Calenus, in the environs **to** Megara and Athens." He then asked them, "Whether they chose **to** wait for those troops, or **to** risk **to** battle without them?" They answered aloud, "Let us **to** wait; but do you **to** out some stratagem **to** bring the enemy, **to** soon **to** possible, **to** action."

to began with offering sacrifices of purification for **to** army, **to** upon opening the first victim, the soothsayer cried out, "You will fight within three days." Cæsar then asked him, **to** there appeared **to** the entrails any auspicious presage? He answered, "It **to** you **to** **to** best resolve **to** question. The gods **to** **to** great **to** **to** **to** revolution **to** affairs. If you are happy **to** present, the alteration will be for the worse; if otherwise, expect better fortune." *The night before the battle, **to** he walked the rounds **to** midnight, there appeared a luminous **to** **to** the air, like a torch, which, **to** **to** passed over his camp, flamed out **to** **to** great brightness, and seemed to fall **to** that of Pompey.* And, in **to** morning, when the guards were relieved, a tumult **to** observed in the enemy's camp, not unlike a panic terror. Cæsar, however, so little expected **to** action that day, that he had ordered his troops to decamp, and march to Scotusa.¹

But as they were striking their tents, his **to** rode up, and told him, the enemy **to** coming down to give him battle. Happy in the **to** news, he made his prayers **to** the gods, and then drew up his army, which he divided into three bodies. Domitius Calvinus was **to** command the centre, Antony the **to** wing, and himself the right, where he intended **to** charge at the head of the tenth legion. Struck with the number and magnificent appearance of the enemy's cavalry, who **to** posted over against him, **to** ordered six cohorts privately **to** advance from the **to**. These he placed behind the right wing, and **to** them instructions what **to** do when **to** enemy's horse **to** **to** charge.² Pompey's disposition **to** this: **to** **to** commanded **to** right wing himself, Domitius the left, and **to** father-in-law, Scipio, **to** main body. The whole weight of the cavalry **to** in **to** left wing; for they designed to surround the right of **to** enemy, and to make **to** successful effort where Cæsar fought in person; thinking that **to** body of foot could **to** deep enough to bear such **to** shock, but they must necessarily be broken **to** pieces upon **to** **to** impression.

When the signal **to** ready to be given, Pompey ordered **to** infantry **to** stand in close order, and wait **to** enemy's attack, till they

¹ Cæsar hoped, by his frequent changing, to provide better for his troops, and perhaps gain a favourable opportunity of fighting.

² Cæsar and Appian agree, that Pompey posted himself in his left wing, not in the right. It is also highly probable that Afranius, not Lucius Domitius L. charged

his troops, Pompey's right wing.—Cæsar does not, indeed, expressly say **to** commanded there, but he says, "On **to** right was posted the legion of Cilicia, with the cohorts brought by Afranius out of Spain, which Pompey esteemed the flower of his army."

enough reached by the javelin. Caesar conduct Pompey what weight swift and fierce advance to the charge gives to every blow, how the courage of each soldier inflamed by the rapid motion of the whole.¹

He going to put troops in motion, when he trusty and experienced centurion encouraging his men distinguish themselves that day. Caesar called him by his name, and said, "What cheer, Caius Crassinus?" How, you, do stand?" "Caesar," said the veteran, in a bold accent, and stretching hand, "the victory is ours. It will be glorious one; and this day I shall have your praise either alive or dead," saying, ran in upon the enemy, at the of company, consisted of men. He great execution among the first ranks, and pressing on with equal fierceness, of antagonists pushed his sword with such force in his mouth, that the point nape of his neck.

When the infantry thus warmly engaged in the centre, cavalry advanced from Pompey's left wing with great confidence, and extended their squadrons, surround Caesar's right wing. But before they could begin the attack,² the six cohorts which Caesar had placed behind came up boldly to receive them. *They did not, according to custom, attempt to annoy the enemy with their javelins at distance, strike at the legs and thighs when they were nearer, but aimed at the eyes, and wounded them in the face, agreeably to the orders they had received. For Caesar hoped that these young cavaliers who had not been used to and wounds, and who set great value upon their beauty, would avoid, above all things, a stroke in that part, and immediately give way, well account of the present danger as the future deformity. The event answered expectation.* They could not bear the spears pointed against their faces, or the steel gleaming upon their eyes, but turned away their faces, and covered them with their hands. This such confusion, that at last they in infamous manner, and ruined the whole. For the cohorts which had been beaten off surrounded their infantry, and charging them in the rear, as well as in front, them pieces.

Pompey, when from other wing he his cavalry put the rout, no longer himself, nor did he remember that Pompey the Great; but, like a man deprived of his superior power, struck with consternation his defeat as consequence of divine decree, he retired camp speaking a word, and down wait. At last, after his whole army was broken and dispersed, and enemy had upon his ramparts, and were engaged the

¹ Caesar was so confident of success that he ordered his entrenchments to be filled up, so that his troops they would be master of the enemy's camp by force of light.

² Plutarch, in the Life of Pompey, calls

him Orestes. Caesar calls him Orestes.

³ Caesar says, they did engage their right wing, obliged his cavalry to give ground. Civil.

troops appointed ■ defend them, he seemed ■ come to himself, and cried out, "What, into my camp too?" Without uttering one word more, ■ the ensigns of his dignity ■ general, and taking ■ habit that might favour ■ flight, he made his escape privately. What misfortunes befell him afterwards, how ■ put himself ■ hands of the Egyptians, and ■ assassinated by the traitors, ■ have related at large in his life.

When Cæsar entered the camp, and saw what numbers of the enemy ■ by ■, and those they were then despatching, he said with a sigh, "This they would have; to this cruel necessity they reduced ■ for ■ Cæsar dismissed his troops, after so many great and successful wars, he would have been condemned as ■ criminal." Asinius Pollio tells us, Cæsar spoke those words in Latin, and that ■ afterwards expressed the sense of them ■ Greek. ■ adds, that ■ of those who ■ killed ■ the taking of the camp were slaves, and that there ■ in the battle above 6,000 soldiers.¹ Cæsar incorporated with his ■ legions ■ of ■ infantry ■ were ■ prisoners; and *pardoned many persons of distinction.* Brutus, who afterwards killed him, ■ of the number. It is said, that when he did not make his appearance after the battle, Cæsar was very uneasy, and that upon his presenting himself unhurt, he expressed great joy.

Among the many signs that announced this victory, that at Tralles ■ the ■ remarkable. There was ■ statue of Cæsar in the temple of Victory, and though the ground about it was naturally hard, and paved with hard stone besides, it is said that a palm ■ sprung up ■ the pedestal of the statue. *At Padua, Caius Cornelius, ■ countryman and acquaintance of Livy, and a celebrated diviner, ■ observing the flight of birds the day the battle of Pharsalia ■ fought. By this observation, according to Livy's account, he first discerned the time of action, and said to those that were by, "The great affair now draws to a decision; the two generals ■ engaged." Then he made another observation, and the signs appeared ■ clear ■ him, that he leaped up ■ the most enthusiastic manner, and cried out, "Cæsar, thou art the conqueror."* As the company stood in great astonishment, he took the sacred ■ from his head, and swore, "He would never put it ■ again till the ■ put h ■ beyond question." Livy affirms this for a truth.

Cæsar granted ■ whole nation of Thessaly their liberty, ■ the sake of the victory ■ had gained there, and then ■ pursuit of Pompey. ■ bestowed the same privilege on ■ Canidians, ■ compliment ■ Theopompus, to whom ■ indebted for ■ tion of fables, and he discharged the inhabitants of Asia from a third part of ■ imposts.

Upon his arrival ■ Alexandria, he found Pompey assassinated, ■ when Theodotus presented the head ■ him, he turned from

¹ Cæsar says, there fell about 16,000 of the enemy, and that he took above 24,000 prisoners; and that on ■ side, the loss

only ■ 300 private soldiers, and thirty

the sight with great abhorrence. *His signet of his general was the only thing he took, and on taking it he wept. As often as any of Pompey's friends and companions were taken by Ptolemy, wandering in his country, and brought to Caesar, he loaded them with favours, and took them into his own service. That the chief enjoyment he had of his victory was, saving day one or other of his fellow-citizens who had fought against him.*"

As for his Egyptian war, some assert, that it was undertaken without necessity, and that his passion for Cleopatra engaged him in a quarrel which proved both prejudicial to his reputation and dangerous to his person. Others say the king's ministers, particularly his eunuch Photinus, who had the greatest influence in court, and who, having taken off Pompey and removed Cleopatra, privately meditated an attempt against Caesar. Hence it is said, that Caesar began to pass the night in entertainments among his friends, to the greater security of his person. The behaviour, indeed, of this eunuch in public, was he said and was with respect to Caesar, intolerably insolent and invidious. The corn he supplied his soldiers with was old and musty, and he told them, "They ought to be satisfied with it, since they lived at other people's cost." He caused only wooden and earthen vessels to be served up at the king's table, on pretence that Caesar had taken all the gold and silver ones for debt. For the father of the reigning prince owed Caesar seventeen million five hundred thousand drachmas. Caesar had formerly remitted to his children the rest, but thought fit to demand the millions at this time, for the maintenance of his army. Photinus, instead of paying the money, advised him to go and finish the great affairs he had upon his hands, after which he should have his money with thanks. But Caesar rebuked him, "He had no need of Egyptian counsellors," and privately sent for Cleopatra out of the country.

The princess, taking only one friend, Apollodorus, the Sicilian, with her, got into a small boat, and in the dusk of the evening made for his palace. As she saw it difficult to enter it undiscovered, she rolled herself up in a carpet; Apollodorus tied her up full length, like a bale of goods, and carried her in at the gates to Caesar. This management of hers, which was a strong proof of her wit and ingenuity, is said to have first opened her the way to Caesar's heart; she conquest advanced so fast, by the charms of her conversation, that he took upon him to reconcile her brother to her, and insisted she should reign with him.

An entertainment was given on account of this reconciliation, and all rejoiced on this occasion; when a barber, a suspicious man, by his caution inquired into everything, and to listen everywhere about the palace, found that the general, and Photinus the eunuch, were plotting against Caesar, being informed of their design, planted his guards about the palace and Photinus. They escaped to the army and involved Caesar

in a very difficult and dangerous war; for, with a few troops, ■■■ to make head against ■ great city and a powerful army.

The first difficulty he met with¹ was the want of water, the Egyptians having stopped up the aqueducts that supplied his quarter.² The second was, the loss of ■ ships in harbour, which he ■ forced to burn himself, ■ prevent their falling into the enemy's hands; when *the flames unfortunately spreading from the dock ■ the palace, burned the great Alexandrian library.* The third³ ■ in the sea-fight near the isle of Pharos, when, seeing his men hard pressed, he leaped from the mole into a little skiff, ■ ■ their assistance. The Egyptians making up on ■ sides, he threw him- ■ into ■ sea, ■ with much difficulty reached ■ galleys by swimming.⁴ Having several valuable papers, which he was ■ willing either ■ lose ■ ■ wet, it is ■ he held them above ■ with ■ hand, and swam with the other. The skiff sank soon after ■ left it. At last the king joining the insurgents, Cæsar attacked ■ defeated him. Great numbers of the Egyptians ■ slain, and the king was heard of no more. This gave Cæsar opportunity to establish Cleopatra queen of Egypt. Soon after she had a ■ by him, whom the Alexandrians called Cæsario.

He then departed for Syria, and from thence marched into Asia Minor, where he had intelligence that Donitius, whom he had left governor, was defeated by Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, and forced to fly out of Pontus with the few troops that he had left; and that Pharnaces, pursuing ■ advantage with great ardour, had made himself master of Bithynia and Cappadocia, and was attempting Armenia the Less, having stirred up all the kings and tetrarchs of Asia against the Romans. Cæsar immediately marched against him with three legions, and defeated him in ■ great battle ■ Zela, which deprived him of ■ kingdom of Pontus, as well ■ ruined his whole army. In the account he gave Amintius, ■ of his friends in Rome, of the rapidity and despatch with which he gained his victory, he made ■ only of three words, "*I came, I saw, I conquered.*" Their having ■ form and termination in the Roman language adds ■ to their

After this extraordinary success ■ returned to Italy, and arrived ■ Rome, as the year of his second dictatorship, ■ office that had never been annual before, was on the point of expiring. He ■ declared consul for the year ensuing. But it was a blot in his character ■ he did not punish his troops, who, in ■ tumult, ■ Cosconius and Galba, men of Prætorian dignity, ■ any

¹ He was in great danger before, when attacked in the palace by Achillas, who had made himself master of Alexandria. Cæs. Bell. lib. III. sub finem.

² They also contrived to raise the sea-water by engines, and pour it into Cæsar's reservoirs and cisterns; but Cæsar ordered wells to be dug, and in a night's ■ got a sufficient quantity of fresh ■ Vide Cæs. Bell. Alex.

³ First, there was a general naval engagement; after which Cæsar attacked the island, and, last of all, the mole. It was in the last attack ■ was ■ the difficulty mentioned by Plutarch.

⁴ His first intention was ■ gain the Admiral's galley; but, finding ■ very hard pressed, he made for the shore. ■ it was fortunate for him that he did, for his own galley soon went ■ the bottom.

[REDACTED] than by calling [REDACTED] citizens,¹ instead of fellow-soldiers. Nay, [REDACTED] each of [REDACTED] 1,000 drachmas notwithstanding, [REDACTED] assigned them large portions of land in Italy. Other complaints against him arose from the madness of Dolabella, the avarice of Amintius, [REDACTED] drunkenness of Antony, and the insolence of Cornificius,² who, having got possession of Pompey's house, pulled it down, and rebuilt it, because he thought [REDACTED] large enough for him. These things [REDACTED] very disagreeable to the Romans. Caesar knew it, [REDACTED] disapproved such behaviour, but was obliged, through political views, [REDACTED] make [REDACTED] of such ministers.

Cato [REDACTED] Scipio, after the [REDACTED] of Pharsalia, had escaped into Africa, where they raised a respectable army with [REDACTED] assistance of King Juba. Caesar [REDACTED] resolved to carry [REDACTED] into their quarters, [REDACTED] in order [REDACTED] it, first crossed over to Sicily, though [REDACTED] about the time of the winter solstice. To prevent [REDACTED] officers from entertaining [REDACTED] hopes of having the expedition delayed, he pitched his own [REDACTED] [REDACTED] within the wash [REDACTED] the [REDACTED]; and [REDACTED] a favourable wind springing up, he re-embarked with 3,000 foot and a [REDACTED] body of horse.³ After he [REDACTED] landed them safely and privately on [REDACTED] African coast, he [REDACTED] sail again in quest of the remaining part of his troops, whose numbers were more considerable, and for whom he [REDACTED] under great concern. [REDACTED] found them, however, [REDACTED] their way [REDACTED] sea, [REDACTED] conducted [REDACTED] all to his African camp.

He [REDACTED] there informed, that the enemy had great dependence [REDACTED] an ancient oracle, the purport of which was, "That the race of Scipio would be always victorious in Africa." And, as he happened [REDACTED] have in his army [REDACTED] of the family of Africanus, named Scipio Sallution, though in other respects a contemptible fellow, either in ridicule of Scipio, the enemy's general, or [REDACTED] turn the oracle on his side, in all engagements he gave this Sallution the command, [REDACTED] if he [REDACTED] been really general. There [REDACTED] frequent occasions of this kind; for he [REDACTED] forced to fight for provisions, having neither a sufficiency of bread for his men, nor forage for [REDACTED] horses. [REDACTED] obliged [REDACTED] give his horses the very sea-weed, only washing out [REDACTED] salt, and mixing a little grass with it to make it [REDACTED] down. The thing [REDACTED] laid him under a necessity of having [REDACTED] [REDACTED] this [REDACTED] pedient [REDACTED] number of Numidian cavalry, who [REDACTED] extremely well mounted, and by swift and sudden impressions commanded the [REDACTED].

One day when Caesar's cavalry [REDACTED] nothing [REDACTED] do, they diverted themselves with [REDACTED] African who danced, [REDACTED] played upon

¹ But by this appellation they were called [REDACTED]. It was [REDACTED] tenth legion which had [REDACTED] at Capua, and [REDACTED] marched with great insolence to Rome. Caesar readily gave them the discharge [REDACTED] demanded, which so humbled them, [REDACTED] they begged [REDACTED] be taken again into [REDACTED] service; and he did not admit of it without much seeming reluctance, nor till after much entreaty.

² It was Antony, not Cornificius, who

got the forfeiture of Pompey's house; as appears [REDACTED] Antony, and Cicero's second Philippic. [REDACTED] there is, probably, a transposition in this place, owing to the carelessness of some [REDACTED].

³ He embarked six legions and 2,000 horse; but the number mentioned [REDACTED] Plutarch was all that he landed [REDACTED] at first, many of the [REDACTED] having been separated by the storm.

the flute with great perfection. They had their horses to the care of boys, attending to the entertainment with great delight, when the enemy, coming upon them all once, killed part, and took the rest to their camp with others, who fled with great precipitation. Cæsar himself, and Asinius Pollio, went to their assistance, and stopped their flight, the war would have been at an end that hour. In this engagement the enemy had the advantage against him on that occasion, that Cæsar took an ensign, who was being away, by the neck, and making him face about, said, "*Look this side for your enemy.*"

Scipio, flushed with these successful preludes, was desirous to a decisive action. Therefore, leaving Afranius and Juba in their respective camps, which were at no great distance, he went in person to the camp above the lake, in the neighbourhood of Thapsus, raised a fortification for a place of refuge, and an occasional retreat. While Scipio was constructing his walls and other parts, Cæsar, with incredible despatch, made his way through a country almost impracticable, by reason of its woods and difficult passes, and coming suddenly upon him, attacked that part of his army in the rear, another in the front, and put the whole to flight. Then making the best use of the opportunity, and of the favour of fortune, with one tide of success he took the camp of Afranius, and destroyed that of the Numidians; Juba, their king, being glad to save himself by flight. Thus, in a single part of the day, he made himself master of three camps, and killed 50,000 of the enemy, with the loss only of 50 men.

Such is the account which we give us of the action; others say, that Cæsar, drawing up his army and giving his orders, he had an attack of an old distemper; and that upon his approach, before it was overpowered and deprived of his senses, he felt the first agitations, he directed his people to carry him to a neighbouring tower, where he lay in quiet till the next day.

Many persons of consular and prætorian dignity escaped out of the battle. Some of them, being afterwards taken, despatched themselves, and a number were put to death by Cæsar. Having a strong desire to take Cato alive, he hastened to Utica,¹ which Cato had the charge of, and for that purpose was in the battle. But by that way he was informed that he had killed himself, and his uneasiness at the news was very visible. As his officers were wondering what might be the cause of that uneasiness, he cried out, "*Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou enviedst me the glory of giving thee my life.*" Nevertheless, by the will which he wrote against Cato after his death, it does not appear that he had any intentions of favouring him before. For how can he be thought he would have spared a living enemy, when he poured so much

¹ Before Cæsar left Utica, he gave orders for the rebuilding of Carthage, as he did, soon after his return to Italy, for the rebuilding of Corinth; so that these two cities were destroyed in the same

year, and in the same year raised out of their ruins, in which they had lain about 100 years. Two years after, they were both re-peopled with Roman colonics.

venom afterwards ■■■■ his grave? Yet, ■■■■ clemency ■ Cicero, ■ Brutus, and others without number, who ■■■■ borne arms against him, it ■■ conjectured, ■■■■ the book ■■■■ written ■■■■ spirit ■■ rancour, but of political ambition; for it ■■■■ composed on such ■■■■ occasion. Cicero ■■■■ written ■■ encomium upon Cato, and ■■■■ gave the name of *Cato* ■■ the book. ■■■■ was highly esteemed by many of the Romans, ■■ might be expected, as ■■■■ from the superior eloquence ■■ the author ■■ the dignity of the subject. Caesar ■■■■ piqued ■■ the ■■■■ of a work, which, in praising a man who had ■■■■ himself ■■ avoid falling into his hands, the thought insinuated something to the disadvantage of ■■■■ character. ■■■■ therefore ■■■■ ■■ to it, which he called *Anticato*, and ■■■■ contained ■■ variety of charges against that great ■■■■ Both books have still their friends, as ■■ regard to ■■■■ memory of Caesar or of Cato predominates.

Caesar, after his return from Africa to Rome, spoke in ■■■■ of his victory ■■■■ people. He told them, he ■■■■ subdued ■■ country so extensive, that it would bring yearly into ■■■■ public ■■■■ 300,000 Attic¹ measures of wheat, and three millions of pounds of oil. After this, he led up his several triumphs over Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. In the title of the latter, mention ■■■■ not made of Scipio, but of Juba only. Juba, the son of that prince, then very young, walked in ■■■■ procession. It proved ■■ happy captivity for him; for of a barbarous and unlettered Numidian, ■■ became ■■ historian worthy to be numbered among the ■■■■ learned of Greece. The triumph was followed by large donations to the soldiers, and feasts and public diversions for the people. He entertained them at 22,000 tables, and presented them with a ■■■■ show of gladiators and naval fights, in honour of his daughter Julia, who ■■■■ been long dead.

When the ■■■■ exhibitions were over,² ■■ account ■■■■ taken ■■ the citizens, who, from 320,000, were reduced ■■ 150,000. ■■ fatal a calamity ■■■■ civil war, and such ■■ number of the people ■■■■ it ■■■■ off, to say nothing of the misfortunes ■■ brought upon the ■■■■ of Italy, and all ■■ provinces of the empire.

This business done, he was elected ■■■■ul the fourth time; and ■■■■ first thing he undertook ■■■■ to march into Spain against ■■■■ of Pompey, who, though young, had assembled a ■■■■

¹ *Medietas*. See the ■■■■ of weights and measures.

² Ruault takes notice of three great mistakes in this passage. The first is, ■■■■ this he said that Caesar took a census of the people. Suetonius does not mention it. And Augustus himself, in *the Annals* of Ammianus says, that in his sixth consulate, ■■■■ is, in the year of Rome 725, he ■■■■ the people, ■■■■ had not been a year or 2 years before. The second is, ■■■■ before the civil war broke out between Caesar and Pompey, the number of the people in Rome amounted to no more than 220,000; for long before it was much

greater, and had continued upon the increase. The last is, where it is ■■■■ that, in less than three years, those 220,000 were reduced, by that war, to 150,000; the falsity of which assertion is evident from this, that a little ■■■■ after, Caesar made a draught of 80,000, to be sent to foreign colonies. But what is still stranger, eighteen years after, Augustus took an ■■■■ of the people, and ■■■■ the number ■■■■ to 4,085,000, as Suetonius says to us. From a passage in the same ■■■■ *Life* of Caesar, (chap. 14.) there ■■■■ of Plutarch took ■■■■

army, and showed a courage worthy of command they had undertaken. The great battle which put a period to the war was fought under the walls of Munda. Caesar at first pressed his men so hard, making so feeble a resistance, that through his ranks, amidst the swords and spears, crying, "*Are you ashamed to deliver your general into the hands of boys?*" The great vigorous reproach produced so last made his enemy backs, and there were more than 30,000 of them slain, whereas Caesar lost only 1,000. Those men he had. As he retired after battle, he told his friends, "*I had often fought for victory, but that the first time he had fought for his life.*"

He was on the day of the *Liberalis*, which was the same day that Pompey the Great marched out, four years before. The younger of Pompey's made his escape; the other was taken by Didius, a few days after, who brought his head to Caesar.

This was the last of his wars; and his triumph of gave the Romans more pain than any other step he had taken. He was the car for having conquered foreign generals and barbarian kings, but for ruining the children, and destroying the race of one of the greatest men Rome had produced, though he proved at last unfortunate. *All the world condemned his triumphing in the calamities of his country, and rejoicing in things which nothing could excuse, either before the gods or men, but extreme necessity.* And it was the more obvious to condemn it, because, before this, he had never sent any message or letter to acquaint the public with any victory he gained in the civil wars, but rather ashamed of such advantages. The Romans, however, bowing to his power, and submitting to the bridle, because they saw no other respite from intestine miseries, but the taking of him for their master, created him dictator for life. This was a complete tyranny; for absolute power they added perpetuity.

Cicero was the one who proposed that the Senate should confer great honours upon Caesar, but honours within the limits of humanity. Those who followed contended with each other which should make him the extraordinary compliments, and by the absurdity and extravagance of their decrees, rendered him odious and insupportable to persons of candour. His enemies supposed to vie with his flatterers in these sacrifices, that they might have the better pretence, and the more cause to up their hands against him. This is probable enough, because in other respects after the civil war brought to an end, his conduct was irreproachable. It was as if there was nothing unreasonable in ordering a temple to be built to CLEMENCY, in gratitude for the mercy they experienced in Caesar. For he had not only pardoned most of those who had appeared against him in the field, but on some of them bestowed honours and preferments; Brutus and Cassius for instance; they were praetors. The Senate of Pompey had been thrown down, but he did not suffer them in the

posture ; ■ erected them again. On which occasion Cicero said, "That Cæsar, by rearing Pompey's statues, ■ ■ ■ own."

His friends pressed him to have a guard, and many offered to serve in that capacity, but he would not suffer it. "For," he said, "It was better to die once, than to live always in fear of death." ■ esteemed ■ affection of ■ people ■ honour- ■ and ■ safest guard, and therefore endeavoured ■ gain them by ■ and distributions of corn, ■ he did the soldiers, by placing them in agreeable colonies. The ■ noted places ■ he colonised were Carthage and Corinth ; of which it is remarkable, that as they were both taken and demolished at the same time, so they ■ ■ ■ time restored.

The nobility he gained by promising them consulates and prætorships, or, if they were engaged, by giving them other places of honour and profit. *To all he opened the prospects of hope ; for he was desirous to reign over a willing people.* For this reason he was so studious to oblige, ■ when Fabius Maximus ■ suddenly towards the close of ■ consulship, he appointed Caninus Rebilus ¹ consul for the day that remained. Numbers went to pay their respects to him, according ■ custom, and to conduct him ■ the senate-house ; ■ which occasion Cicero said, "Let us make haste and pay ■ compliments ■ the consul, before his ■ is expired."

Cæsar ■ such talents for great attempts, ■ ■ vast ■ ambition, that the many actions he had performed by ■ means induced him to sit down and enjoy ■ glory ■ had acquired ; they rather whetted his appetite for other conquests, produced new designs equally great, together with equal confidence of success, and inspired him with a passion for fresh renown, as if he had exhausted all the pleasures of the old. This passion ■ nothing ■ ■ jealousy of himself, a ■ with himself (as ■ as if ■ ■ been with another man) ■ make ■ future achievements outshine the past. In this spirit he had formed a design, and ■ making preparations for war against the Parthians. After ■ had subdued them, he intended to traverse Hyrcania, and marching along by the Caspian ■ and Mount Caucasus, ■ enter Scythia ; ■ carry ■ conquering ■ through the countries adjoining ■ Germany, and through Germany itself ; and ■ ■ by Gaul to Rome ; thus finishing the circle of the Roman empire, ■ well as extending its bounds to ■ ■ every ■

During the preparations for this expedition he attempted to ■ through ■ Isthmus of Corinth, and committed the care of that work ■ Anienus. He designed also ■ convey the Tiber by a deep channel directly from Roma ■ Circæi, and so into the ■ ■ Tarracina, for ■ convenience as well ■ security of merchants ■ ■ Rome. Another public-spirited work that ■ ■ was to ■ ■ marshes by Nomentum and Setia, by ■ ■ ground enough would be gained from ■ water to employ many thousands of hands

■ tillage. ■ proposed further ■ raise banks on the shore nearest ■, to prevent the ■ from breaking in upon the land; ■ clear ■ Ostian shore of its secret ■ dangerous obstructions, and to ■ harbours fit to receive ■ many vessels that came in there. These ■ designed, ■ not take effect.

■ completed, however, the regulation of the calendar, and ■ rected ■ computation of time, agreeably to ■ plan which ■ ingeniously contrived, and which proved of the greatest utility. For it ■ only in ancient times that the Roman months ■ ill agreed with the revolution of the year, that the festivals ■ days of sacrifice, by little and little, fell back into seasons quite opposite to those of their institution; but ■ in the time of Cæsar, when the solar year was made ■ of, the generality lived ■ perfect ignorance of the matter; and the priests, who ■ the only persons that knew anything about it, used to insert, all at once, ■ when nobody expected it, an intercalary month called *Mercedonius*, of which Numa ■ the inventor. That remedy, however, proved much too weak, and ■ far from operating ■ tensively enough, to correct the great miscomputations of time; as ■ have observed in that prince's life.

Cæsar, having proposed the question to the ■ able philosophers and mathematicians, published, upon principles already verified, a new and ■ exact regulation, which the Romans still go by, ■ by that means are nearer the truth than other nations with respect to the difference between the sun's revolution and that of the twelve months. Yet this useful invention furnished ■ of ridicule to the envious, and ■ those who could but ill brook his power. For Cicero (if I mistake not,) when ■ one happened ■ say, "*Lyra will rise to-morrow*," answered, "Undoubtedly; there is an edict for it;" as if the calendar was forced upon them, as well ■ other things.

But ■ principal thing that excited the public hatred, and at last caused his death, ■ his passion for the ■ of king. It was the first thing that gave offence ■ the multitude, and it afforded his inveterate ■ a very plausible plea. Those who wanted ■ procure him that honour, gave it out among the people, that it appeared from the Sibylline books, "The Romans could ■ conquer ■ Parthians, except they went to ■ under the conduct of a king." And one day, when Cæsar returned from Alba ■ Rome, ■ of his retainers ventured to salute him by that title. Observing ■ people were troubled ■ this strange ■ pliment, he put ■ air of ■ and said, "*He ■ called king, but Cæsar*." Upon this, a deep silence ensued, and ■ passed ■ good humour.

Another time the ■ having decreed him ■ extravagant honours, ■ consuls and prætors, attended by the whole body ■ patricians, ■ inform ■ of what they had done. When they ■, he ■ not rise ■ receive them, but kept his seat, ■ if they ■ been persons ■ a private station, ■ his answer ■ their address, was, "That there was more need to retrench ■ honours

"enlarge them." This haughtiness gave pain only to the senate, but the people, who thought the dishonour of the body dishonour upon the whole commonwealth, for all who decently withdraw, went off greatly dejected. Perceiving this step he had taken, he retired immediately to his house; laying his head bare, told his friends, "He is ready for my hand would strike." He then bethought himself of alleging his distemper as an excuse; and asserted, that those who are under its influence are apt to find their faculties fail them, when they speak; a trembling and giddiness coming upon them, which bereaves them of their senses. This, however, was really the case; for it is said, he was desirous to rise to the tribunate; but Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends, or flatterers, said to him, "You had servility enough to say, 'I am your friend'; remember you are Cæsar, and suffer them to pay their respects to you as their superior?"

These discontents were greatly increased by the indignity with which he treated the tribunes of the people. In the *Lupercalia*, which, according to most writers, is an ancient pastoral feast, and which is in many respects to the *Lycæa* amongst the Arcadians, young men of noble families, and indeed many of the magistrates, run about the streets naked, and by way of diversion, strike all they meet with leathern thongs with which their hair upon them.

Numbers of women of the first quality put themselves in their way, and present their hands for stripes (as scholars do to a master), being persuaded that the pregnant gain an easy delivery by it, and that the barren are unable to conceive. Cæsar wore a triumphal robe that day, and seated himself in a golden chair upon the *rostra*, to see the ceremony.

Antony ran among the rest, in compliance with the rules of the festival, for he was consul. When he came into the *forum*, and the crowd had made way for him, he approached Cæsar, and offered him a diadem wreathed with laurel. Upon this, loud plaudits were heard, but very feeble, because they proceeded only from persons placed there for purpose. Cæsar refused it, and then the plaudits were loud and general. Antony presented it more, and it was applauded with officiousness: but when Cæsar rejected it again, the applause again was general. Cæsar, undeceived by his second trial, rose up, and ordered the diadem to be consecrated in the Capitol.

A few days after, his statues were seen adorned with royal diadems; and Flavius and Marcellus, two of the tribunes, and others, who had opposed them. They also found out the persons who first saluted Cæsar king, and committed them to prison. The people followed with cheerful acclamations, and called them *Brutus*, because they were the persons who expelled the kings, and put the government in the hands of the people. Cæsar, highly incensed at their behaviour, deposed the tribunes; and by way of reprimand to them, as well as to the people, called them several times *Canines*.

Upon this, many applied to ■■■ Brutus, who, by the father's side, ■■■ supposed to be ■ descendant of that ancient Brutus, and whose mother ■■■ of ■ illustrious house of the Servilii. He ■■■ also nephew and son-in-law to Cato. No man ■■■ inclined ■■■ to lift his hand against monarchy, but he ■■■ withheld by the honours and favours he had received from Cæsar, who ■■■ not only given him his life after the defeat of Pompey ■ Pharsalia, and pardoned ■■■ of his friends at his request, but continued ■ honour him with his confidence. That very year he had procured him the most honourable prætorship, and he had named ■■■ for ■ consulship four years after, in preference to Cassius, ■■■ ■■■ competitor. On which occasion "Cæsar is reported ■ have said, "Cassius assigns the strongest reasons, but I ■■■ refuse Brutus."

Some impeached Brutus, after the conspiracy was ■■■; but, instead of listening ■ them, ■■■ his hand ■■■ body, ■■■ said, "Brutus will wait for this skin:" intimating, that though the virtue of Brutus rendered him worthy of empire, he would not be guilty of any ingratitude or baseness to obtain it. Those, however, who ■■■ desirous of a change, kept their eyes upon him only, or principally at least; and as they durst not speak out plain, they put billets night after night in the tribunal and seat which he used ■ prætor, mostly in those terms; "Thou sleepest, Brutus;" or "Thou art not Brutus."

Cassius perceiving his friend's ambition ■ little stimulated by these papers, began to ply him closer than before, and spur him ■■■ the great enterprise; for he had a particular enmity against Cæsar, for the ■■■ which we have mentioned in the life of Brutus. Cæsar, too, had some suspicion of him, and he even said one day to his friends, "What think you of Cassius? I do not like his pale looks." Another time, when Antony and Dolabella ■■■ accused of some designs against ■■■ person and government, he said, "I have ■■ apprehensions from those fat and sleek men; I rather fear the pale and lean ones;" meaning Cassius and Brutus.

It seems, from this instance, that fate is not so ■■■ as it is inevitable; for ■■■ told, there ■■■ strong signs and presages ■ the death of Cæsar. As ■ the lights in the heavens, the strange noises heard in various quarters by night, and the appearance ■ solitary birds in ■■■ form, perhaps they deserve not ■■■ notice in so great ■ event ■ this. But some attention should ■ given ■ Strabo the philosopher. According to him, there were seen ■■■ air ■■■ of fire encountering each other; such ■ flame appeared ■■■ issue from the hand of a soldier's servant, that all ■ spectators thought ■ must be burned, yet when it was over, he found no harm; and one of the victims which Cæsar offered, ■■■ found ■■■ a heart. The latter ■■■ certainly ■■■ alarming prodigy; for, according to the rules of nature, no creature ■■■ exist without ■ heart. What is ■■■ extraordinary, many report, that a certain soothsayer forewarned him of a great danger which threatened him on the ■■■ of March, and that when the day ■■■ came, ■■■

was going to the senate house, he called to the soothsayer, and said, laughing, "The ides of March are come;" to which he answered softly, "Yes; they are not gone."

The evening before, he supped with Marcus Lepidus, signed, according to custom, a number of letters, while so employed, there was a question, "What of the best?" Caesar answering all, out, "A one." The same night, he was with his wife, the windows of the room flew open. Disturbed by the noise and the light, he observed by moonshine, Calpurnia in deep sleep, uttering broken words and inarticulate groans. He dreamed that she was weeping over him, as she him, murdered, in her arms. Others say, she dreamed that the pinnacle fallen, which, as Livy tells us, the had ordered be erected upon Caesar's house, by way of distinction; and that was the fall of it which he lamented and wept for. that may, the next morning she conjured Caesar not go that day, if he could possibly avoid it, but adjourn the senate; and, if he had no regard to her dreams, have to some other species of divination, or to sacrifices, for information as to his fate. This gave him some suspicion and alarm; for he had never known before, in Calpurnia, anything of the weakness or superstition of her sex, though she so much affected.

He therefore offered a number of sacrifices, and, the diviners found auspicious tokens any of them, he Antony to dismiss. In the meantime, Decius Brutus,¹ surnamed Albinus, in. He was a person in whom Caesar placed such confidence that he had appointed his second heir, yet he was engaged in the conspiracy with the other Brutus Cassius. This man, fearing that Caesar adjourned the senate to another day the affair might be discovered, laughed the diviners, and told them would highly to blame, by such a slight he gave the an of complaint against him. "For they were met," said, "at his summons, and came prepared one voice to honour him with the title of king in the provinces, and to grant that he should wear the diadem both by sea and land everywhere out of Italy. if any one go and tell them, they have taken their places, they go home again, and return when Calpurnia happens to have dreams, what room your enemies have launch out against you! Or who will bear your friends when they attempt show, that this is not an open servitude one hand, and tyranny the other?—If you are absolutely persuaded that this is an unlucky day, it is certainly better to go yourself, and tell them you have strong reasons for putting business till other time." saying, he took Caesar by the hand, him

¹ The pinnacle was an ornament usually placed upon the top of their temples, and was commonly adorned with some statues of gods, figures of victory, or other symbolical device.

² Ending a D prefixed to Brutus, took for Decius; but his name was Decimus Brutus. See Appian and Suetonius.

gone far from the door, when a slave, who belonged to some other person, attempted to get up and speak to him, but finding it impossible, by reason of the crowd that gathered about him, he crept away into the house, putting himself into the hands of Calpurnia, desired her to keep him safe till Cæsar's return, because he was of great importance to communicate.

Artemidorus the Cnidian, who, by teaching the Greek eloquence, became acquainted with some of Brutus's friends, and had got intelligence of the transactions, approached Cæsar with a paper, explaining what he had to discover. Observing that he had the papers, he fastened them on him, to his officers, he got up as close as possible, and said, "Cæsar, read this to yourself, and quickly: for it contains matters of great consequence, and of the last concern to you." He took it and read several times, but was always prevented by one application or other. He therefore kept that paper, and that only in his hand, when he entered the house. Some say it was delivered to him by another man,¹ Artemidorus being kept from approaching him all the way by the crowd.

These things might, indeed, have come out by chance; but in the place where the senate that day assembled, and which proved the scene of that tragedy, there stood a statue of Pompey, and it was an edifice which Pompey had consecrated for an ornament to his theatre, nothing can be clearer than that some deity conducted the whole business, and directed the execution of it to that very spot. Even Cassius himself, though inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus, turned his eye to the statue of Pompey, and secretly invoked his aid, before the great attempt. The arduous occasion it seems, overruled his former sentiments, and laid them open to the influence of enthusiasm. Antony, who was a faithful friend to Cæsar, and a man of great strength, was held in discourse without by Brutus Albinus, who had contrived a long story to detain him.

When Cæsar entered the house, the accomplices gathered up behind his chair, and others before it, pretending to intercede, along with Metilius Cimber for the recall of his brother from exile. They continued their instances till he came to his seat. When he was seated he gave them a positive denial; and they continued their importunities with an air of compulsion, he grew angry. Cimber then, with both hands, pulled his gown off his neck, which was the signal for the attack. Casca gave him the first blow. It was a stroke upon his neck with his sword, but the wound was dangerous; for the beginning of a tremendous enterprise.

¹ By Calus Trebonius. says in the life of Brutus: Appian the same; and Cicero too, in his Philippics.

² Metilius is plainly a corruption. Suetonius calls him Cimber. Appian is Metilius Cimber, an

There is a medal which bears his name; but that medal is believed to be spurious. Some call him Metilius Cimber; and others suppose we should read M. Cimber.

³ Here is the original.

probably some disorder. Cæsar therefore turned upon him and laid hold of his sword. At the same time they both cried out, in Latin, "*Villain! Cæsar! what dost thou mean?*" and other in Greek, "brother, "*Brother, help!*"

After such a beginning, those who knew nothing of the conspiracy seized with consternation and horror, inasmuch that they durst neither fly to assist, nor even utter a word. All the conspirators now drew their swords, and surrounded him in such a manner, whatever way he turned, nothing but gleaming in his face, and met nothing but wounds. Like being attacked by the hunters, he found every hand lifted against him, they agreed to have a share in the sacrifice and a drop of his blood. Therefore Brutus himself gave him a stroke in the groin. Some say he opposed the rest, and continued struggling and crying out, till he perceived the sword of Brutus; then he drew his robe over his face, and yielded his fate. Either by accident pushed by the conspirators, he expired on the pedestal of Pompey's statue, and dyed it with his blood; so that Pompey seemed to preside in the work of vengeance, to tread his enemy under his feet, and to enjoy his agonies. Those agonies were great, for he received no less than three and twenty wounds. And many of the conspirators wounded each other, as they aiming their blows at him.

Cæsar thus despatched, Brutus advanced to speak to the senate, and to assign his reasons for what he had done, but they could not bear to hear him; they fled out of the house, and filled the people with inexpressible horror and dismay. Some shut up their houses; others left their shops and counters. All were in motion; some running to the spectacle; another running back. Antony and Lepidus, Cæsar's principal friends, withdrew, and hid themselves in other people's houses. Meantime Brutus and his confederates, yet from the slaughter, marched in a body with their bloody swords in their hands, from the senate-house to the Capitol, that fled, but with an air of gaiety and confidence, calling the people to liberty, and stopping to talk with every person of consequence whom they met. There were who joined them, and mingled with their train; desirous to appear to have had a share in the action, and hoping for one in glory. Of this number were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther, who afterwards paid dear for their vanity; being put to death by Antony and young Cæsar. So that they gained even the honour for which they lost their lives; for nobody believed that they had any part in the enterprise; and they were punished, for the deed but for the will.

Next day Brutus, the rest of the conspirators down to the Capitol, and addressed the people, who to discourse without expressing either dislike or approbation of what was done. But by their it appeared that they pitied Cæsar, at the same time they revered Brutus. The passed a general ; to reconcile all parties, they

decreed Cæsar divine honours, and confirmed all the [] of [] dictatorship; while on Brutus and his [] they bestowed governments, and such honours as were suitable: so that it was generally imagined the commonwealth was firmly established again, and all brought into the [] order.

But when, upon the opening of Cæsar's will, it was found that [] left every Roman citizen a considerable legacy, and they beheld [] body [] it [] carried through the forum, all mangled with wounds, [] multitude could [] longer be kept within bounds. They stopped [] procession, and tearing up [] benches, [] the doors [] tables, heaped them [] pile, and burned the corpse there. Then snatching flaming brands from the pile, [] to burn the [] of the assassins, while others ranged [] city [] conspirators themselves, and [] them in pieces; [] they had taken such care to secure themselves that they could [] with one of them.

One Cinna, a friend of Cæsar's, had a strange dream [] preceding night. He dreamed (as they tell us) that Cæsar invited him [] supper, and, upon [] refusal [] go, caught him by the hand, and drew him after him, [] spite of all the resistance he could make. Hearing, however, that the body of Cæsar [] be burned in the forum, he went to assist in doing him the last honours, though he had a fever upon him, the consequence of his uneasiness about [] dream. On his coming up, one of the populace asked, "Who that was?" and having learned [] name, told it to his next neighbour. A report immediately spread through the whole company, that it [] one of Cæsar's murderers; and, indeed, one of the conspirators [] named Cinna. The multitude, taking this for the man, fell upon him, and tore him [] pieces upon the spot. Brutus and Cassius [] so terrified [] this rage of the populace that, [] days after, they left the city. An account of their subsequent actions, sufferings and death, may [] found in the Life of Brutus.

Cæsar [] at the [] of fifty-six, and [] survive Pompey above four years. His object was sovereign power and authority, which [] pursued through innumerable dangers, and by prodigious efforts [] gained it at last. But he reaped [] other fruit from [] than an empty and invidious title. It is true [] Divine Power, [] conducted him through life, attended him after his [] his avenger, pursued and hunted out the assassins [] and land, and rested not till there was not a [] left, either of those [] dipped their hands [] blood or of those [] gave their sanction [] [].

The [] remarkable of natural [] relative [] this [] was, [] Cassius, after [] lost the battle of Philippi, [] himself [] dagger which [] had made [] of against Cæsar; and [] signal phenomenon [] the heavens [] that of a great comet,¹ which shone very bright for seven nights after Cæsar's

¹ A [] made its [] in the month, [] we were celebrating the games in honour [] Cæsar, and []

bright for seven days. It arose about the eleventh hour of the day, and was seen by all [] It was commonly believed

death, ■ then disappeared. ■ which we ■ add the fading of ■ sun's lustre; for his ■ ■ pale all that year; he rose not ■ a sparkling radiance, nor had the heat ■ afforded its usual strength. The air, of course, ■ and heavy, ■ vigorous heat which clears and rarifies it; and the fruits ■ so crude and uncooked that they pined away and decayed, through the ■ of the atmosphere.

We have a proof ■ more striking that the assassination of Cæsar ■ displeasing ■ the gods, in the phantom that appeared to Brutus. The story of it is this: Brutus ■ point of transporting his army from Abydos to the opposite continent, and the night before he lay in his tent, awake, according ■ custom, and ■ deep thought about what might be the event of the ■: for it was natural for him ■ watch great part of the night, ■ no general ■ required ■ little sleep. While all his ■ about him, ■ heard ■ noise ■ the door ■ his tent, and looking towards ■ light, which ■ ■ burned very low, he ■ ■ terrible appearance in the human form, but of prodigious ■ and the ■ hideous aspect. At first he ■ struck with astonishment; but when ■ it neither did nor spoke anything ■ him, but stood in silence by his bed, he asked it, "Who it was?" The spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus; thou shalt ■ me at Philippi." Brutus answered boldly, "I'll meet thee there;" and the spectre immediately vanished.

Some time after, he engaged Antony ■ Octavius Cæsar at Philippi and the first day was victorious, carrying ■ before ■ where he fought in person, and even pillaging Cæsar's camp. The night before he was to fight the second battle, the ■ spectre appeared ■ him again, but spoke not a word. Brutus, however, understood that his last hour was near, and courted danger with all ■ violence of despair. Yet he did ■ fall in the action; but seeing ■ ■ lost, he retired ■ the top of a rock, where ■ presented ■ naked sword ■ his breast, and ■ friend, as they tell us, assisting ■ thrust he died upon the spot.¹

to be a sign that the soul of Cæsar was admitted among the gods; for which reason we added a star to the head of his statue consecrated soon ■ the forum."—Fragm. ■. Oas. ap. Plin. l. ii. c. 25.

1 Whether Plutarch's motive may have been, it is certain ■ he ■ given us a very inadequate and imperfect idea of the character of Cæsar. The life he has ■ ■ a ■ ■ of facts, snatched from different historians, without ■ consisting ■ regularity, or accuracy. He has left us none of those finer and minuter traits, which, as he elsewhere justly observes, ■ ■ and characterise the ■ more ■ his most popular and splendid operations. He has written the life of Cæsar like a man under

restraint; has skimmed over his actions, and shown a manifest ■ ■ when he could draw ■ attention of ■ reader to other characters and circumstances, however insignificant, or how often soever repeated by himself, in the narrative of other ■ ■ from the little light he ■ afforded us, and from the better accounts of ■ ■ historians, we may easily discover, that Cæsar was a ■ of great and distinguished virtues. ■ ■ been as able in his political as he was in his military capacity; had he been capable of hiding, or even of managing that ■ ■ of mind, which was the ■ attendant of his liberality and amoness, the last prevailing passion would not have blinded him so far as to put so early a period to his race of glory.

CICERO.

THE [redacted] [redacted] have of Henia, [redacted] mother of Cicero, is, that her family [redacted] noble,¹ and her character excellent. Of [redacted] father there [redacted] nothing [redacted] but in extremes. For some affirm that [redacted] was the son of a fuller,² and educated in that trade, while others deduce his origin from Attius Tullus,³ a prince who governed the Volsci [redacted] great reputation. [redacted] that [redacted] it may, I think the first of the family who bore the name of Cicero must have been an extraordinary man; and for that [redacted] his posterity [redacted] reject [redacted] appellation, but rather took [redacted] with pleasure, though [redacted] a common subject of ridicule: for the Latins call [redacted] vetch *cicer*, and he had [redacted] [redacted] on the top of his [redacted] in resemblance of a vetch, from which he got that surname.⁴ As for the Cicero of whom [redacted] are writing, his friends advised him, on his first application [redacted] business and soliciting one of the great offices of state, to lay aside or change that [redacted]. But he answered with great spirit, "That he would endeavour to make the name of Cicero [redacted] glorious than of the Scauri and the Catuli." When quaestor in Sicily, he consecrated in [redacted] of the temples [redacted] or some other offering in silver, upon which [redacted] inscribed his [redacted] names *Marcus Tullius*, and, punning upon the third, ordered the artificer [redacted] engrave [redacted] vetch. Such [redacted] the [redacted] we have of his name.

He [redacted] born on the third of January,⁵ the day [redacted] which the magistrates now sacrifice and [redacted] devotions for the health of the emperor; and it is said that [redacted] mother [redacted] delivered of him without pain. It is also reported, that a spectre appeared to his nurse, and foretold, that the child she had the happiness to attend would [redacted] day prove [redacted] great benefit [redacted] the whole commonwealth of Rome. These things might have passed for idle dreams, had he not soon demonstrated the truth of the prediction. When he [redacted] of [redacted] proper [redacted] go [redacted] school, his genius broke [redacted] with [redacted] much lustre, and [redacted] gained [redacted] distinguished [redacted] reputation among the boys, that the fathers of some of them repaired [redacted] the school to [redacted] Cicero, and [redacted] have specimens of his capacity for literature; but the less civilized [redacted] angry with their sons, when [redacted] they [redacted] them take Cicero in the middle of them [redacted] walked, and always give him [redacted] place of honour. [redacted] had that turn of genius

¹ Cinna was of this family.

² Dion tells us that Q. Calpurnius was the author of this calumny. Cicero, in his books *De Legibus*, has said enough to show that both his father and grandfather were persons of property and of a liberal education.

³ The same person to whom Cornelius retired four years before.

⁴ Pliny's account of the origin of this

name is more probable. He supposes that the person who first bore it was remarkable for the cultivation of vetches. S. Fabius, Lentulus, and Plao, had their names from beans, tares, and peas.

⁵ In the six hundred and forty-seventh year of Rome: a hundred and four years before the Christian era. Pompey was born in the same year.

disposition which Plato have a philosopher possess. He had the capacity and inclination learn all the arts, nor was there any branch of science he despised; yet he inclined poetry; and there extant a poem, entitled *Pontius Glaucus*,¹ which written by him, when boy, in process of time when he greater application, he looked upon the poet, as his greatest orator, in Rome. His reputation for oratory still remains, notwithstanding the considerable changes that have since taken place in language; but, as many ingenious poets have appeared since his time, his poetry has lost credit, and is neglected.²

When he pursued those studies through which boys commonly pass, he attended the lectures of Cato the academician, whom, of the scholars of Clitomachus, the most admired for eloquence, and loved for conduct. At the same time he made great improvement in the knowledge of the law, under Mucius Scaevola, an eminent lawyer, president of the senate. He likewise acquired knowledge under Sylla, in the Marsian war.³ But afterwards, finding the commonwealth engaged in civil wars, which were likely to end in nothing but absolute monarchy, he withdrew into a philosophic and contemplative life; conversing with letters from Greece, making farther advances in science. This method of life he pursued till Sylla had made himself master, and appeared to be some established government again.

About this time Sylla ordered the estate of some of the citizens to be sold by auction, in consequence of his being killed as a person proscribed; when it was struck off to Chrysogonus, Sylla's freedman, the sum of 2,000 drachmæ. Roscius, his son and heir of the deceased, expressed his indignation, and declared that he would not give 250 talents. Sylla, enraged at having his conduct thus publicly called in question, brought an action against Roscius for the murder of his father, and appointed Chrysogonus to be manager. Such was the dread of Sylla's cruelty, that no man offered to appear in defence of Roscius, and nothing seemed left for him but a sacrifice. In this distress he applied to Cicero, and his friends of the young orator undertook him; thinking they could not have a more glorious opportunity to show themselves of fame. Accordingly he undertook his

¹ Plato's Commonwealth, lib. 9.

² This Glaucus was a famous fisherman, who, after eating a certain herb, jumped into the sea, and became one of the gods of that element. Æschylus wrote a tragedy on the subject. Cæsar's poem is lost.

³ Pontarch was a very badde and judge of the latter matter, and his conduct with

is a strong proof of it. He translated Aratus into verse at the age of seven years, and wrote a poem in praise of the actions of Marius, which, Scaevola said, would live through innumerable ages. But he was out in his prophecy. It has long since been dead. And the poem which he wrote in three books, on his own consulship, has shared the same fate.

⁴ In the eighteenth year of his age.

defence, and gained great applause.¹ But, fearing Sylla's resentment, he travelled into Greece, and gave that recovery his health was the motive. Indeed, he of a slender habit, and his stomach was so weak that he was obliged to very sparing diet, and not to eat till a late hour in day. His voice, however, of a variety of inflections, at the time harsh unformed; and, the vehemence and of speaking he always into a loud key, there reason in apprehend that might injure his health.

When he at Athens, he heard Antiochus Ascalonite, and charmed with the smoothness and grace of his elocution, though he approve his new doctrines philosophy. For Antiochus the academy, it is called, and the sect of Carneades, either from clear conviction and from the strength of the evidence of sense, or else from a spirit of opposition to the schools of Clitomachus and Philo, and had adopted of the doctrines of the Stoics. But Cicero loved the academy, and entered more and opinions, having already resolution, if he failed in his design of rising in state, retire from the forum and all political intrigues, to Athens, and spend his days in peace in the bosom of philosophy.

But not long after he received the of Sylla's death. His body by this time strengthened by exercise, and brought to a good His voice was formed; and at the time that it was full and sonorous, had gained a sufficient sweetness, and was brought to a key which his constitution could bear. Besides, his friends at Rome solicited him by letters to return, and Antiochus exhorted him much to apply himself to public affairs. For which he exercised his rhetorical powers afresh, the best engines for business, and called forth his political talents. In short, suffered day pass without either declaiming, attending the most celebrated orators. In the prosecution this design he sailed to Asia and the island of Rhodes. Amongst the rhetoricians of Asia, he availed himself of the instructions of Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionysius of Magnesia, and Menippus of Carin. At he studied under the rhetorician Apollonius the son of Molo,² and philosopher Posidonius. It is said, that Apollonius understanding Roman language, desired Cicero to declaim in Greek; and readily complied, because he thought by that faults might the better be corrected. When he had declamation, the rest were astonished his performance, and which should praise him most; but Apollonius showed no signs pleasure while he was speaking; when done he a long time thoughtful and silent. At last, observing uneasiness pupil, he said, "As for you Cicero, I praise and admire you; but I am concerned for the fate of Greece. She had nothing left her but glory of eloquence and erudition, and are carrying that Rome."

¹ In his twenty-seventh year.

² Not Apollonius the son of Molo, but Apollonius Molo.

Cicero now prepared to apply himself to public affairs with great hopes of success : his spirit received a check from the oracle at Delphi. For upon his inquiring by what he might rise to the greatest glory, the priestess told him "follow nature," in the opinion of the multitude for the guide to his life." Hence he was, after his coming to Rome, he was of great caution. He was timorous and backward in applying for public offices, and had the mortification to find himself neglected, and called a Greek, a scholastic; which the artizans, the meanest of the Romans, are very liberal in applying. He was naturally ambitious of honour, and spurred on besides by his father and his friends, he betook himself to the bar. Nor was he by slow and gradual degrees that he gained the palm of eloquence; his fame went forth once, and he was distinguished above all the orators of Rome. Yet it is said that his style for action was really defective, even of Demosthenes; and therefore he took advantage he could from the instruction of Roscius, who excelled in comedy, and of Æsop, whose talents lay in tragedy. This Æsop, we are told, when he was one day acting Atreus, the part where he considers in what manner he should punish Thyestes, being worked up by his passion to a degree of insanity, with his sceptre struck a servant who happened suddenly by, and laid him dead at his feet. In consequence of these helps, Cicero found his powers of persuasion not a little assisted by action and just pronunciation. But as for those who gave into a bawling manner, he laughed at them, and said, "Their weakness made them get up into clamour, as lame men get on horseback." His excellence at hitting off a jest repartee animated his pleadings, and therefore seemed not foreign to the business of the law, but by bringing it much into life, he offended numbers of people, and got the character of a malevolent lawyer.

He was appointed quæstor at a time when there was a great scarcity of corn; and having Sicily for his province, he sent the people a great deal of trouble at first, by compelling them to send their corn to Rome. But afterwards, when they came to experience his diligence, his justice, and moderation, they honoured him as quæstor Rome had ever sent them. About that time a number of young Romans of noble families, who lay under charge for having violated the rules of discipline, and for insufficient courage in time of service, were sent back to the prætor of Sicily. Cicero undertook their defence, and acquitted them of all with great ability and success. As he returned to Rome, much elated with his advantages, he tells us of a pleasant adventure. As he was on the road through Campania, meeting with a person of some eminence with whom he was acquainted, he asked him, "What they thought of him in Rome?" imagining his name and glory of his

achievements [] city. [] acquaintance answered, "Why, where have you been, then, Cicero, all this time!"

This [] dispirited him extremely; for he found that [] of [] conduct had been [] in Rome, as in [] immense sea, and had made no remarkable addition [] his reputation. By [] reflection upon this incident, he was brought [] retrench [] ambition, because he saw [] contention for glory [] endless thing, and had neither measure [] bounds to terminate it. Nevertheless, [] immoderate love of praise, and his passion for glory, always remained with him, and often interrupted his best and wisest designs.

When he began to dedicate himself [] earnestly to public business, [] thought that, while mechanics knew the name, the place, and use of every tool and instrument they take in their hands, though those things are inanimate, it would be absurd for a statesman, whose functions cannot be performed but by [] of men, to be negligent in acquainting himself with the citizens. He therefore made it his business [] commit [] memory, not only their names, but the place of abode of those of greater note, what friends they made use of, and what neighbours were in their circle. So that whatever road in Italy Cicero travelled, [] could easily point out [] estates and houses of his friends.

Though his [] estate was sufficient for [] necessities, yet, as it [] small, it seemed strange that he would take neither fee nor present for his services at the bar. [] was most remarkable in the case of Verres. Verres had been *prator* in Sicily, and committed numberless acts of injustice and oppression. The Sicilians prosecuted him, and Cicero gained the cause for them, not so much by pleading, [] by forbearing to plead. The magistrates, in their partiality [] Verres, put [] the trial by several adjournments to the last day,¹ and as Cicero knew there [] time for the advocates to be heard, and the [] determined in the usual method, he [] up, and said, "There [] no occasion for pleadings." [] therefore brought up [] witnesses, and after their depositions [] taken, [] that the judges should give their verdict immediately."

Y[] have [] account of several humorous sayings of Cicero's [] this cause. When [] emancipated slave, Cæcilius by name, who was suspected of being a Jew, would have [] aside the Sicilians, [] taken [] prosecution of Verres upon himself;² Cicero said, "What has [] Jew to do with swine's flesh?" For the Romans call [] boar-pig [] *TTT*. And when Verres reproached Cicero with effeminacy, [] answered, "Why do you not [] reprove your [] children?" For Verres had [] young [] who [] supposed [] [] infamous [] of [] advantages of person. Hortensius

¹ Not till the last day. Cicero brought it on a few days before Verres' friends were to come into office; but of [] orations which were competed on the

occasion, the two first only were delivered. A.U.C. 683.

² Cicero knew that Cæcilius was secretly a friend to Verres, and wanted by this means to bring him off.

Verres were directly to plead of Verres, prevailed to appear for him the laying of the fine, and had received an ivory *sphinx* from him by way of consideration. In this Cicero threw several enigmatical hints against Horiensius; and when he said, "He knew not how to solve riddles," Cicero retorted, "That is somewhat strange, when you have a *sphinx* in your house."

Verres being thus condemned, Cicero his fine 750,000 *drachmae*; upon which, it was said by censorious people, that he had been bribed to let him off so low.¹ The Sicilians, however, in acknowledgment of his assistance, brought him when he rode a number of things for his games, and other very valuable presents; but they were far from considering his private advantage, that he made no other use of their generosity than to lower the price of provisions.

He had a handsome country seat at Arpinum, a farm near Naples, and another at Pompeii, but neither of them were very considerable. His wife Terentia brought him a fortune of 120,000 *denarii*, and he had something that amounted to 90,000 more. Upon this he lived in a genteel, and at the same time a frugal manner, with men of letters, both Greeks and Romans around him. He rarely took his meal before sunset; not that business or study prevented his sitting down to table sooner, but the weakness of his stomach, he thought, required that regimen. Indeed, he was so exact in all respects in the care of his health, that he had his stated hours for rubbing and for the exercise of walking. By this management of his constitution, he gained a sufficient stock of health and strength for the great labours and fatigues he afterwards underwent.

He gave up the town house which belonged to his family to his brother, and took up his residence on the Palatine hill, that those who came to pay their court to him might not have too far to go. For he had a levee every day, less than Crassus had for his great wealth, Pompey for his power and interest in his army; though they were the most followed, and the greatest in Rome. Pompey himself paid due respect to Cicero, and found his political assistance very useful to him, both in respect to power and reputation.

When Cicero stood for the praetorship, he had many competitors who were persons of distinction, and yet he was returned first. As a president in the courts of justice, he acted with great integrity and honour. Licinius Macer, who had great interest of his own, and supported, besides, with the aid of Crassus, accused Verres in some respects with respect to money. Cicero had much confidence in his own influence and activity of his friends, that, when judges were going to decide his cause, it

¹ This fine indeed was very inconsiderable. The legal fine for extortion, in such cases as that of Verres, was twice the sum extorted. The Sicilians laid a charge of £32,916 against Verres; the fine must

therefore have been £65,832, but 750,000 *drachmae* was no more than £24,218. Plutarch must therefore most probably have been mistaken.

Sylla introduced into the constitution [] first seemed harsh and uneasy, but by time and custom [] [] an establishment which many thought not [] bad one. At present there [] some who wanted [] bring in another change, merely [] gratify their [] avarice, and without the least view [] the public good. Pompey [] engaged with the kings of Pontus and Armenia, and there [] [] force in Rome sufficient to suppress the authors of this intended innovation. They had [] chief of a bold and enterprising spirit, and the [] remarkable versatility of [] ; his [] Lucius Catiline. Besides [] variety of other crimes, [] [] accused of debauching his [] daughter, and killing his [] brother. To [] himself from prosecution for the latter, he persuaded Sylla [] put [] brother among the proscribed, [] if he [] been still alive. These profligates, with such [] leader, among other engage- [] of secrecy and fidelity, sacrificed a man, and ate of his flesh. Catiline [] corrupted great part of the Roman youth by indulging their desires in every form of pleasure, providing them wine and women, and setting [] bounds to his expenses for these purposes. All Tuscany [] prepared for the revolt, and [] of Cisalpine Gaul. The vast inequality of the citizens in point of property prepared Rome too for a change. *Men of spirit amongst the nobility had impoverished themselves by their great expenses [] public exhibitions and entertainments, [] bribing for offices, and erecting magnificent buildings; by which means the riches of the city [] fallen into the hands of mean people; in this tottering state of the commonwealth there needed no great force to upset it, and it [] in the power of any [] adventurer [] accomplish [] ruin.*

Catiline, however, before he began his operations, wanted a strong fort to sally out from, and with that view stood for the consulship. His prospect seemed very promising, because he hoped [] have Caius Antonius for his colleague; a [] who had [] firm principles either good or bad, [] any resolution of his own, but would [] a considerable addition to the power of him that led him. Many persons of virtue and honour, perceiving this danger, put up Cicero for the consulship, and the people accepted him with pleasure. Thus Catiline [] baffled, and Cicero, (in his 43d year) and Caius Antonius appointed consuls; though *Cicero's father [] only of the equestrian order, and [] competitors of patrician families.*

Catiline's designs were not yet discovered to the people. Cicero, however, [] [] upon [] office, [] great affairs [] his hands, the preludes of what was to follow. On the one hand, those who had been incapacitated by the laws of Sylla [] bear offices, being neither inconsiderable [] [] nor in number, began now [] solicit them, and make [] possible interest with [] people. [] is true, they alleged many just [] good arguments against the tyranny of Sylla, but [] was an unseasonable time [] give the administration so much trouble. On the other hand, the [] of the people proposed laws which had the [] tendency to []

press the government; for they wanted to appoint *decemvirs*, and in-
 vest *an unlimited power*. This was to extend over
 Italy, Syria, and the *provinces* of Pompey. They
 were to be commissioned to *manage* public *affairs* in *foreign* countries;
 to judge *and* banish whom they pleased; to plant colonies: to *use*
 money *of* the public treasury; to levy and keep on foot what
 troops they thought necessary. Many Romans of high distinction
 were pleased with *this* bill, and in particular Antony, Cicero's
 colleague, for he hoped *to* be one of the *decemvirs*. *It* was thought, too,
 that *Antony* was a stranger *to* Catiline's designs, and that he did
 not disrelish them on *account* of his great debts. This was an alarm-
 ing circumstance *to* all who *loved* the good of their country *at*
 heart.

This danger, too, was the first that Cicero guarded against;
 which he did by getting the province of Macedonia decreed *to*
 Antony, and not taking that of Gaul which *was* allotted *to* himself.
 Antony was so much affected with this favour, that *he* was ready,
 like *a* hired player, *to* play a subordinate part under Cicero for the
 benefit of his country. Cicero having thus managed his colleague,
 began with greater courage to take his measures against the
 seditious party. He alleged his objections against the law in the
 senate, and effectually silenced the proposers.¹ They took
 another opportunity, however, *when* coming prepared, insisted that
 the consul should appear before the people. Cicero, not in the
 least intimidated, commanded the senate to follow him. *He*
 addressed the *people* with such success, that they threw out the
 bill; and his victorious eloquence had such *a* effect upon the
 tribunes, that they gave up other things which they *had* been
 meditating.

He *was* indeed the *man* who most effectually showed *to* Romans
 what charms eloquence *has* *to* truth, and that justice is
 invincible when properly supported. He showed also, that *a*
 magistrate who watches for the good of the community should in
 his actions always prefer right to popular measures, and in his
 speeches know how to make those right *measures* agreeable, by
 separating from them whatever may offend. Of *his* grace *and*
 power with which *he* spoke, we have *a* proof in a theatrical
 regulation that took place in his consulship. Before, those *of*
 equestrian order sat mixed with the commonalty. Marcus Otho,
 in his praetorship, was the first who separated the knights from the
 other citizens, and appointed *separate* seats which they *now* enjoy.
 The people *regarded* this as *a* mark of dishonour, and *they*
 and insulted Otho *when* he appeared *in* the theatre. The knights,
 on the other hand, received him with loud plaudits. *The* people
 repeated their hissing, and the knights their applause; till *at*
 they *made* *mutual* reproaches, *and* threw *the* whole theatre into
 the *greatest* disorder. Cicero being informed *of* the disturbance,

¹ This was the first of his three orations
de Legibus Agrariis

² *Antony* was young before, under the

consulship of Pius and Gaius. But Otho
 was not then praetor, he was tribune.

came and called the people to the temple of Bellona ; where, partly by reproof, partly by applications, they corrected them, they returned to the theatre, loudly testified their approbation of Otho's conduct, and with knights which should do him the honour.

Catiline's conspiracy, which at first intimidated and discouraged, began to animate the spirits. The accomplices bled, and exhorted each other to begin their operations with vigour, before the return of Pompey, who was said to be already marching homewards with his forces. Catiline's chief motive for action was the dependence he had on Sylla's army. Though scattered all over Italy, the great and warlike part resided in the cities of Etruria, and in idea were plundering and sharing the wealth of Italy again. They had Manlius for their leader, a man who had served with great distinction under Sylla ; and entering into Catiline's views, they agreed to assist the approaching election ; for he solicited the consulship again, and had resolved to kill Cicero in the tumult of an assembly.

The gods seemed to presignify the machinations of the incendiaries by earthquakes, thunders, and apparitions. There were also intimations from men, true enough in themselves, but not sufficient for the conviction of a person of Catiline's quality and power. Cicero, therefore, adjourned the day of election ; and having summoned Catiline before the senate, examined him upon the informations he had received. Catiline, believing there were many in the senate who wanted a change, and at the same time being desirous to show his resolution to his accomplices who were present, answered with a calm firmness :—"As there are two bodies, one of which is feeble and decayed, but has a head ; the other strong and robust, but is without a head ; what harm am I doing, if I give a head to the body that wants it ?" By these enigmatical expressions he alarmed the senate. Consequently Cicero was still more alarmed. On the day of election he put on a coat of mail ; the principal persons in the senate conducted him from his house, and great numbers of youth attended him to the *Campus Martius*. There he drew back his robe, and showed part of the coat of mail, to point out the danger. The people were incensed, and immediately gathered about him ; the consequence of which was, that Catiline was thrown down again, and Silanus and Murena were consuls.

Not long after this, when the senate was assembling, Catiline in Etruria, and the day appointed for carrying the plot into execution approached, three of the first and greatest personages in Rome, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Scipio, went and knocked at Cicero's door about midnight, having with them a porter, bade him awake his master, and the man who attended. Their business was : Crassus's porter brought him in a packet of letters for supper, which he received from a person unknown. They were directed to the consuls.

there one for Crassus himself, without a . . . This only Crassus read ; and when he found it informed him of a great massacre intended by Catiline, and warned him retire out of the city, he did not open the rest, but immediately went to wait Cicero : for he only terrified at the impending danger, but had suspicions to remove which arisen from his acquaintance with Catiline. Cicero having consulted with them what was proper be done, assembled the break of day and delivered the letters according the directions, desiring at time that they might be read public. They all gave the account of the conspiracy.

Quintus Arrius, a of pretorian dignity, moreover, informed the senate of the levies that had been made in Etruria, and assured them that Manlius, with a considerable force, hovering about those parts, and only waiting for news of an insurrection in Rome. On these informations, the made a decree, by which all affairs committed the consuls, and they empowered in the manner they should think best for the preservation of the commonwealth. This is an edict which the senate seldom issue, and never but some great and imminent danger.

When Cicero was invested with this power, he committed the of things without the city Quintus Metellus, and took the direction of all within to himself. He made his appearance every day attended and guarded by such a multitude of people, that they filled a great part of the forum. Catiline, unable to bear any longer delay, determined to repair to Manlius and his army ; and ordered Marcus and Cethegus to take their swords and go to Cicero's house early in the morning, where, under pretence of paying their compliments, they to fall upon him and kill him. But Fulvia, a of quality, went to Cicero in the night inform him of his danger, and charged him to be on his guard in particular against Cethegus. As it light, the assassins came, and being denied entrance, they grew very insolent and clamorous, which made them suspected.

Cicero went out afterwards, and assembled the the temple of Jupiter Stator, which stands at the of the *Via Sacra*, in the way the Palatine hill. Catiline among rest, a design make his defence ; but there was not a for who would sit by him ; they left the bench he had taken ; and when he began to speak, they interrupted him a manner that he could heard.

At length Cicero rose up, and commanded him depart the city : " for," he, " while I employ only words, and you weapons, there should at least walls between us." Catiline, upon this, immediately marched out with 300 men well armed, and with the fasces and other ensigns of authority, as had been a lawful magistrate. In this form he went to Manlius, and having assembled of 20,000 men, he marched to the cities, order them revolt having openly commenced, Antony, colleague, sent against

as Catiline corrupted, thought proper leave in Rome, kept together and encouraged by Cornelius Lentulus, surnamed Sura, a man of noble birth, but life. *He expelled senate for his debaucheries, was then praetor second time; for a customary qualification when ejected persons were restored to their places the senate.*¹ As to of Sura, is said to have been given him on this occasion. When questor in the time of Sylla, lavished away vast of the public money. Sylla, incensed behaviour, demanded account of him full senate. Lentulus in very careless and disrespectful manner, said, "I have give, but present you the calf of my leg;" which a common expression among boys, when they missed their stroke tennis. Hence had the surname of *Sura*, word for the calf of the leg. Another time, being prosecuted for some great offence, he corrupted judges. they had given their verdict, though he was acquitted only by majority of two, he said, "He had put himself to needless expense bribing of those judges, for it would have been sufficient have had a majority of one."

Such the disposition of this man, who not only been solicited by Catiline, but was moreover infatuated by vain hopes, which prognosticators and other impostors held up him. They forged in oracular form, brought him them from of Sibyla. These lying prophecies signified the decrees of fate, "That three of the Corneliæ would be monarchs of Rome." They added, "That two had already their destiny, Cinna and Sylla; that he was the third Cornelius to whom the gods now offered the monarchy; and that he ought by all to embrace his high fortune, and not ruin it by delays, as Catiline had done."

Nothing little trivial entered into schemes of Lentulus. resolved to kill the whole senate, and as many of the other citizens as possibly could; to burn the city, and spare none sons of Pompey, whom he intended seize keep as pledges of his peace with that general: for by this time it was strongly reported he was on his from his great expedition. The conspirators fixed on a night during of the *Saturnalia* for the execution of their enterprise. They lodged arms combustible matter in the house of Cethegus. They had divided Rome into a hundred parts, and pitched upon same number of men, each of whom not quarter to set fire to. As this to be done by them all some moment, they hoped that the conflagration would be general; were intercept the water, and kill all that went seek.

While things preparing, happened

When a Roman senator was expelled, sufficient qualification for him to be appointed to praetorial office was a *Dion. l. xxxvii.*

Rome two ambassadors from the Allobroges, a nation that had been much oppressed by the Romans, and was very impatient under their yoke. Lentulus and his party thought ■■■■ ambassadors proper persons to raise commotions in Gaul, and bring that country to their interest, and therefore made them part ■■■■ in the conspiracy. They ■■■■ charged them with letters to ■■■■ magistrates and to Catiline. To the Gauls they promised liberty, and they desired Catiline ■■■■ enfranchise the slaves, ■■■■ march immediately ■■■■ Rome. Along with the ■■■■ they ■■■■ Titus of Crotona ■■■■ carry the letters ■■■■ Catiline. But ■■■■ measures of these inconsiderate men, who generally consulted upon their affairs over their wine and in company with women, ■■■■ discovered by the indefatigable diligence, the sober address, and great capacity of Cicero. He ■■■■ his emissaries in all parts ■■■■ the city, to ■■■■ every step they took; and had, besides, a secret correspondence with many who pretended to join in ■■■■ conspiracy, by which ■■■■ he got intelligence of their treating with ■■■■ strangers.

In consequence hereof, he laid ■■■■ ambush ■■■■ the Crotonian in the night, and seized him and the letters; the ambassadors themselves privately lending him ■■■■ assistance.¹ Early in the morning he assembled the senate in the temple of *Concord*, where he read the letters, and took the depositions of the witnesses. Junius Silanus deposed, that several persons had heard Cethegus say, that three consuls and four prætors would very soon be killed. The evidence of Piso, a man of consular dignity, contained circumstances of the like nature. And Caius Sulpitius, ■■■■ of the prætors, who ■■■■ sent to Cethegus's house, found there a great quantity of javelins, swords, poniards, and other arms, all ■■■■ furnished. At last, the senate giving the Crotonian a promise of indemnity, Lentulus ■■■■ himself entirely detected, and ■■■■ down his office (■■■■ he ■■■■ then prætor): he put off his purple robe in ■■■■ house, and took another more suitable ■■■■ his present distress. Upon which, both he and ■■■■ accomplices ■■■■ delivered to ■■■■ prætors, ■■■■ be kept in custody, ■■■■ not in chains.

By this time it grew late, and as the people ■■■■ waiting ■■■■ in great numbers for the event of the day, Cicero ■■■■ and gave them ■■■■ account of it. ■■■■ which, they conducted ■■■■ the house of a friend who lived in his neighbourhood; ■■■■ own being taken ■■■■ with ■■■■ women, who were then employed in ■■■■ mysterious rites of the goddess whom the Romans call *Bona* ■■■■ Good, and the Greeks *Gynæcea*. An annual sacrifice is ■■■■ her ■■■■ the consul's house by his wife and mother, and the vestal virgins give their attendance. When Cicero ■■■■ retired ■■■■ the apartments assigned ■■■■ him, with only a few friends, he began to consider what punishment ■■■■ should ■■■■ the criminals. ■■■■

¹ These ambassadors had been solicited by Umbrenus to join his party. ■■■■ thought it

to abide by the state, and discovered the plot to Publius Sanga, the ■■■■ of their nation.

extremely proceed to a capital nature of their offence seemed to demand, as by of the mildness of his disposition, for fear of incurring the making an extravagant and use of power against who the first families, and had powerful connections. On the other side, he them a gentle chastisement, he have something to fear from them. He knew that they would with anything less than ; her break out into desperate villanies, when their former wickedness sharpened with. Besides, he might himself be with marks timidity weakness, and rather because generally supposed to have courage.

Before Cicero could to a resolution, women who were sacrificing observed an extraordinary presage. When the fire on the seemed be extinguished, strong bright suddenly broke out of embers. The other terrified the prodigy, but the vestal virgins ordered Terentia, Cicero's wife, him immediately, and command him, from them, "Boldly to follow his best judgment in the service of his country ; because the goddess, by the brightness of this flame, promised him not only safety but glory in his enterprise." *Terentia by means of a meek and timid disposition, but had her ambition, and (as Cicero himself says) took a greater share him in politics than she permitted him to have in domestic business.* She informed the prodigy, and exasperated him against the criminals. His brother Quintus, and Publius Nigidius, of his philosophical friends, whom he made great use of in the administration, strengthened him in the purpose.

Next day the met to deliberate the punishment the conspirators, and Silanus, being first asked opinion, gave sending them prison, and punishing them the that possible. *The rest in their order agreed with him, till it Cains Cæsar, who afterwards dictator. Cæsar, then a young man, and just the dawn of power, both in his measures and his hopes, was taking that road which he continued in, till turned the Roman commonwealth into a monarchy.* This observed by others, but Cicero had strong suspicions of him. took care, however, not to give him a sufficient handle against him. the consul had almost got necessary proofs, that a narrow escape. Others that Cicero purposely neglected the informations that might have been against him, of his friends great interest. For, Cæsar brought under predicament with the conspirators, would rather have contributed save destroy them.

When it his to give judgment, rose declared, "for punishing them capitally, but for confiscating their estates, lodging them in any of towns of Italy that Cicero pitch upon, where they might be kept in chains till Catiline was

conquered.² To opinion, which was on the merciful side, and supported with great eloquence by him who gave it, Cicero himself no small weight ; for in his speech gave arguments large for both opinions, first for former, and afterwards for Cæsar. And all Cicero's friends, thinking would invidious for him avoid putting the criminals death, the sentence ; insomuch that Silanus changed sides, and himself by saying that he mean capital punishment, but that imprisonment severest which a Roman could suffer.

The matter thus went on till it came Lutatius Catulus. He declared for capital punishment ; and supported him, expressing in strong terms his suspicions of Cæsar ; which so roused the spirit and indignation of the senate, that they made a decree for sending conspirators execution. Cæsar then opposed confiscating their goods ; for he it unreasonable, when they rejected the mild part of his sentence, to adopt the . As the majority insisted upon it, he appealed to the tribunes. The tribunes, indeed, did put in their prohibition, but Cicero himself gave up the point, and agreed that the goods should be forfeited.

After this, Cicero went at the head of the senate to the criminals, who all lodged in one house, but in those of the several præ . First he took Lentulus from the Palatine hill, and led him down the *Via Sacra*, and through the of the *forum*. The principal persons in the consul on sides, like a guard ; the people stood silent the horror the scene ; and the youth on with fear and astonishment, if they initiated that day in some awful ceremonies of aristocratic power. When he had passed the *forum*, and come the prison, delivered Lentulus to the executioner. Afterwards brought Cethegus, and all the rest in their order, and they were put to death. In his he saw others who in the conspiracy standing thick *forum*. As these knew the of their ring-leaders, they were waiting for night, order their rescue, for they supposed them yet alive. Cicero, therefore, called out to them aloud, *They live. The Romans, who choose to avoid all inauspicious words, in this manner express death.*

By time late, and as he passed through *forum* to go to own house, people did not conduct him in a silent and orderly manner, but crowded to hail him with loud acclamations and plaudits, calling him *the saviour and second founder of Rome*. The streets were illuminated³ with a multitude of lamps and torches placed by the doors. The women held out lights from the tops of the houses, that they might behold, and pay a proper

¹ Plutarch seems here to intimate, that after the death of Catiline, they might not sit upon their thrones, but appear from Sehest that no such intention.

² are of high antiquity. They came originally from nocturnal celebration of religious mysteries ; and on that account carried the idea of veneration and respect with them.

pliment to the man who was [] with solemnity by a train of the greatest men in Rome, most of whom had distinguished [] by successful wars, led up triumphs, and enlarged the empire both by sea and land. All these, in their discourse with each other as they [] along, acknowledged [] Rome was [] many generals and great [] that [] for pecuniary acquisitions, for rich [] for power ; but for preservation and safety [] C[] along [] had rescued her from so great and [] [] his quashing [] enterprise, and punishing [] delinquents, appeared so extraordinary a thing ; but the wonder was, that he could suppress the great [] conspiracy that [] existed, with so little inconvenience to the state, without the least sedition [] tumult. For many [] joined Catiline left him on receiving intelligence of the [] Lentulus and Cethegus ; [] that traitor, giving Antony [] the troops that remained, [] destroyed with [] army.

Yet some [] pleased with this conduct [] success of Cicero, and inclined to do him [] possible injury. At [] [] this faction were some of the magistrates for the ensuing year : Caesar, who [] [] prætor, and Metellus and Bestia, tribunes.¹ These last, entering upon their office a few days before that of Cicero's expired, would not suffer him to address the people. They placed their [] benches [] the *rostra*, and only gave him permission to take the oath upon laying down his office,² after which he was to descend immediately. Accordingly, when Cicero [] [] it [] expected that he would take [] customary oath ; but silence being made, instead of the usual form, he adopted one that [] [] and singular. The purport of it was, that "*he had saved his country, and preserved the empire ;*" and all the people joined [] it.

This exasperated C[] and [] tribunes still more, and they endeavoured to [] him new troubles. Among other things they proposed a decree [] calling Pompey home with his army to suppress [] despotic power of Cicero. It [] happy for him, and for [] [] commonwealth, that Cato [] then [] of the tribunes ; for [] opposed them with an authority equal [] theirs, and a [] putation that [] much greater, and consequently broke their [] with []. He made a [] speech upon Cicero's consulship, [] represented it in [] glorious [] light [] the highest honours [] decreed him, and he was called *the father of his country* ; a mark of distinction which none ever gained before. Cato bestowed [] [] on him before the people, [] they [] firmed it.³

[] authority [] Rome [] that time was undoubtedly great ; [] he [] [] of obnoxious and burdensome to [] [] by [] action, [] by continually praising [] magnifying himself.

¹ Bestia went out of office on the 11th of November. [] [] Bestia were tribunes.

² The custom took two oaths : one, on entering into their office, that they would not according to the laws ; and the other,

on quitting it, that they had not acted contrary to the laws.

³ Q. Cains was the first who gave him the title. Cato, as tribune, confirmed it before the people.

never entered the senate, the assembly of the people, or courts judicature but Catiline and Lentulus the bu his satisfied with this, his writings so interlarded encomiums on himself, that though style elegant and delightful, his discourses were disgusting and nauseous the reader; for him like incurable disease.

 though had such an insatiable avidity for honour, was never unwilling that others should have their share. For *entirely free from envy*; and it appears from his works that he liberal in his praises, only of the ancients, but of those own time. Many of his remarkable sayings, too, of this nature, preserved. Thus of Aristotle he said, "That he river of flowing gold; of Plato's Dialogues, "That Jupiter to speak, would speak as he did." Theophrastus he used call his "particular favourite;" and being asked which of Demosthenes' orations thought the best, he answered "*The longest*." Some who affect zealous admirers that orator, complain, indeed, of Cicero's saying in one of his epistles, "That Demosthenes sometimes nodded in his orations;" but they forget the many great encomiums he bestowed on him in other parts of his works; and do not consider that he gave the title of *Philippics* his orations against Mark Antony, which were the most elaborate he ever wrote. There was not one of his contemporaries celebrated either for his eloquence or philosophy, whose fame he did not promote, either by speaking or writing of him in advantageous

 He persuaded Caesar, when dictator, to grant Cratippus Peripatetic, the freedom of Rome. He likewise prevailed upon the council of Areopagus out an order for desiring him to remain at Athens to instruct the youth, and not deprive their city of such an ornament. There are, moreover, letters of Cicero's to Herodes, and others his son, in which he directs them to study philosophy under Cratippus. But he accuses Gorgias the rhetorician of accustoming his son to a life of pleasure and intemperance, and therefore forbids the young his society. Amongst his Greek letters, this, and another to Pelops the Byzantine, that discover anything of resentment. His reprimand Gorgias certainly right and proper, if he the dissolute that passed for; but he betrays an excessive in expostulations with Pelops, for neglecting to procure him certain honours from city of Byzantium.

These effects of vanity. Superior keenness of expression, too, which he had at command, him into many violations of decorum. He pleaded for Munatius in a certain cause; client acquitted in consequence of his defence. Afterwards Munatius prosecuted Sabinus, of Cicero's friends; upon which he much transported with anger say, "Thinkest thou the merit of thy that saved thee, and not rather the cloud which I threw thy crimes, and which kept them from sight of the court?" He had succeeded in encomium on Marcus Crassus from the *rostrum*: and a few days

after publicly reproached "What!" Crassus, "did you lately praise in the place where you now stand?" "True:" answered Cicero, "but I did it by way of experiment, what I could make of a subject." Crassus had once affirmed, that none of his family ever lived above threescore years; but afterwards wanted contradict it, and said, "What could I have been thinking of when I asserted such a thing!" "You knew," Cicero, "that such an assertion would very agreeable to the people of Rome." Crassus happened that day profess himself much pleased with that maxim of the Stoics, "The good is always rich." "I imagine," Cicero, "there is more agreeable unto you, *All things belong to the prudent.*" For Crassus notoriously covetous. Crassus two sons, one of which resembled a man Accius so much that his mother suspected of intrigue with him. This young man spoke in the with great applause; and Cicero being asked what thought of him, answered in Greek, *axios Crasson.* When Crassus going out for Syria, he thought it better to leave Cicero his friend than his enemy: and therefore addressed him day in obliging manner, and told him he would come and sup with him. Cicero accepted offer with equal politeness. A few days after, Vatinius likewise applied to him by his friends, and desired a reconciliation. "What!" said Cicero, "does Vatinius to sup with me?" Such were his jests upon Crassus. Vatinius had scrofulous in his neck; and one day when he was pleading, Cicero called him "a tumid orator." An account brought Cicero that Vatinius dead, which being afterwards contradicted, he said, "May vengeance seize the tongue that told the lie!" When Caesar proposed a decree for distributing lands in Campania among the soldiers, many of the senators displeased at it; and Lucius Gellius, in particular, who one of the oldest of them, said, "That be while I live." "Let me wait awhile, then," said Cicero, "for Gellius requires very long credit." There Octavius, who had objected him that was African. One day when Cicero pleading, this man he could hear him. "That is somewhat strange," Cicero; "for you not without a in your ear." When Metellus Nepos told him, "That had ruined more evidence than saved as advocate:" "I grant it," said Cicero, "for I have truth than eloquence." A young man, who lay under the imputation of having given father poisoned cake, talking in insolent manner, and threatening that Cicero should feel the weight of his reproaches, Cicero

1 *κακὸν εἶναι τὸν σοφόν*. The Greek *σοφός* signifies cunning, shrewd, prudent, as well as wise: and in the former acceptations *σοφία* is applicable to Crassus. *Τὸν σοφόν*, in Latin, is indifferently either *suber* or *suber*.

2 An ill-featured man, which signifies either that the young man was worthy of Crassus, or that he was the son of

3 A of slavery pendant some nations; but the were pendants in ears by the

answered, "I much rather have them than your cake." Publius taken Cicero, among others, for his advocate, in a cause of importance; yet he would suffer speak but himself. When it appeared that he would be acquitted, and judges giving their verdict, Cicero him, and said, "Sestius, the best use of your time to-day, for to-morrow you will be of office."¹ Publius Cotta, who affected to be thought an able lawyer, though he had neither learning nor capacity, being called in as witness in a certain cause, declared, "He knew nothing of the matter." "Perhaps," said Cicero, "you think I am asking you a question in law." Metellus Nepos, a difference with Cicero, often asking him, "Who is your father?" he replied, "Your mother has made it much difficult for you to answer that question." For his mother the unsullied reputation. This Metellus was himself a man of a light unbalanced mind. He suddenly quitted the tribunitial office, and sailed to Pompey in Syria; and when he was there, he returned in a manner still more absurd. When his preceptor Philagrus died, he buried him in a pompous manner, and placed the figure of a man in marble on his monument.² "This," said Cicero, "was one of the wisest things you did: for your preceptor has taught you rather to fly than to speak."³ Marcus Appius having mentioned, in the introduction to one of his pleadings, that his friend had desired him to try every source of care, eloquence, and fidelity in his cause, Cicero said, "What a hard-hearted man you are, not to do any one thing that your friend has desired of you?"

It seems not foreign to the business of an orator to use this cutting raillery against enemies or opponents; but his employing it indiscriminately, merely to raise a laugh, rendered him extremely obnoxious. To give a few instances: He used to call Marcus Aquilius *Adrastus*, because he had two sons-in-law who were both in exile.⁴ Lucius Cotta, a great lover of wine, when Cicero solicited the consulship. Cicero, in the course of his canvass, happening to be thirsty, called for water, and said to his friends who stood round him as he drank, "You do well to conceal me, you are afraid that the censor will call me to account for drinking water." Meeting Voconius a day with three daughters, who were very plain women, he cried out:

[He conceived a violent passion for them.]

Marcus Gellius, who was supposed to be of servile extraction, happened to read some letters in the senate with a loud and strong voice, "Do not be surprised at it," said Cicero, "for there have

¹ Publius Sestius, not being a professed advocate, would not be employed to speak for any body else; he therefore took care to be himself, and to show his vanity in speaking for himself.

² It was usual among the ancients to place emblematic figures on the monuments of the dead; and these were either such instruments as represented the pro-

fession of the deceased, or such animals as were emblematic of his disposition.

³ Alluding to the volatility of his expectations.

⁴ Because he had two sons-in-law who were both in exile.

⁵ A verse of Sophocles speaking of Laius the father of Oedipus.

been public criers in ■ family." Faustus, the ■ of Sylla the dictator, who ■ proscribed great numbers of ■ having run deep in debt, and wasted great part of his estate, ■ obliged ■ put up public ■ for the sale of it. Upon which Cicero said, "I ■ ■ much better than his father's."

Many hated him for these ■ sarcasms, ■ encouraged Clodius and his faction ■ form their schemes against him. Clodius, who was of ■ noble family, young and adventurous, entertained ■ passion for Pompeia, the wife of Cæsar. This induced him ■ get privately into ■ house, which ■ did in the habit of ■ female musician. The ■ ■ offering in Cæsar's house that mysterious sacrifice which is kept from the sight and knowledge of ■ But, though ■ ■ is ■ to assist in it, Clodius, who was very young, and had his face yet smooth, hoped ■ pass through ■ ■ to Pompeia undiscovered. As he entered ■ great house in the night, he was puzzled to find ■ way ; ■ ■ of the ■ ■ belonging to Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, seeing him wandering up and down, asked him his ■ ■ Being ■ forced to speak, he said he was seeking Abra, one of Pompeia's maids. The woman, perceiving it ■ not ■ female voice, shrieked out, and called the matrons together. They immediately made fast the doors, and searching the whole house, found Clodius skulking in the apartment of the maid who introduced him.

As the affair made ■ great noise, Cæsar divorced Pompeia, ■ prosecuted Clodius for that ■ of impiety. Cicero ■ at that time his friend ; for during the conspiracy of Catiline, he had been ready to give him all the assistance in his power ; and even attended as one of his guards. Clodius insisted, in his defence, that he was ■ then ■ Rome, but at ■ considerable distance in the country. But Cicero attested that he ■ that very day to his house, and talked with him about ■ particular business. This was, indeed, matter of fact ; yet probably it ■ ■ so much the influence of truth, ■ the necessity of satisfying his wife Terentia, ■ induced him to declare it. She hated Clodius ■ ■ of ■ sister Clodia ; for she ■ persuaded that that lady wanted to get Cicero ■ her husband ; and ■ she managed the design by ■ Tullius. As Tullius was an intimate friend ■ Cicero's, and likewise constantly paid his court to Clodia, who ■ his neighbour, ■ circumstance strengthened her suspicions. Besides, Terentia ■ ■ of ■ imperious temper, and having ■ ascendant ■ ■ husband, ■ put him upon giving evidence against Clodius. Many other persons of honour alleged against him ■ crimes of perjury, of fraud, of bribing the people, and corrupting the ■ ■ Nay, Lucullus brought ■ maid-servants ■ prove that Clodius had a criminal commerce with his ■ sister, ■ ■ the wife of that nobleman. This ■ ■ youngest of the ■ ■ And ■ generally believed that he had connections of ■ ■ with his other sisters ; ■ of which, named Tertia, ■ ■ ■ ■ Rex ; and the other, Clodia, ■ ■ ■ Celer. The latter was called *Quadrantaria*, because one ■ her

palmed upon her a purse of small brass money, instead of silver; the brass coin being called a *quadran*. It was this sister's conduct that Clodius was censured. As the people were themselves both against the judges and the prosecutors, the judges were so terrified that they thought it necessary to place a guard about the court; some of them confounded their letters upon tablets. They seemed, however, to be acquitted by a majority; but it was said to be through pecuniary applications. Hence Catulus, when he met the judges, said, "You are right in desiring a guard for your defence; for you are afraid that somebody would take the money from you." And when Clodius asked the judges to give credit to his deposition, "Yes," said he, "five and twenty of them believed me, but so many condemned you; but the other thirty believe you, for they did not acquit you till they had received your money." As Caesar, when he was called upon, he gave no testimony against Clodius; nor did he affirm that he was certain of any injury done to his bed. He only said, "He had divorced Pompeia, because the wife of Caesar ought not only to be clear of such a crime, but of every suspicion of it."

After Clodius had escaped this danger, and was elected tribune of the people, he immediately attacked Cicero, and left neither circumstance nor person untried to ruin him. He gained the people by laws that flattered their inclinations, and the consuls by decreeing them large and wealthy provinces; for Piso was to have Macedonia, and Gabinius Syria. He registered many laws and indigent persons as citizens; he gave a number of slaves for his constant attendants. Of the great triumvirate, Crassus was avowed enemy to Cicero. Pompey indifferently carressed both parties, and Caesar was going to attack him upon his expedition to Gaul. Though the latter was not his friend, but rather suspected of enmity since the affair of Catiline, it was to him that he applied. The favour he asked of him was, that he would take him as his lieutenant; and Caesar granted it.¹ Clodius perceiving that Cicero would, by this means, get out of the reach of his tribunitial power, pretended to be inclined to a reconciliation. He threw some of the blame of the late difference on Terentia; and spoke always of Cicero in terms of candour, not like his adversary vindictively inclined, but as a friend might complain of another. This removed Cicero's fears entirely, that he gave up the lieutenantancy which Caesar had indulged him with, and began to attend to business as before.

Caesar was so much piqued at this proceeding, that he encouraged Clodius against him, and drew off Pompey entirely from his interest. He declared, too, before the people, that Cicero, in his opinion, had been guilty of a flagrant violation of justice.

¹ Cicero says that this lieutenantancy was a voluntary offer of Caesar's. Ep. lib. 4. et. It does not appear that Cicero was inclined to accept of Clodius; he

had always expressed an aversion to the lieutenantancy that was offered to him by Caesar. Ep. ad Att. l. c. 18.

putting Lentulus and Cethegus to death, without any trial. This was his charge when he was summoned to answer. Cicero then put on mourning, and his hair grew, and, with every mark of distress, he supplicated the people. Clodius took to meet him everywhere in the streets, with an audacious insolent crew, who insulted him on his change of dress, and often rebuffed his applications by pelting him with mud and stones. However, almost all the equestrian order went into mourning for him; and fewer than 20,000 young men, of the noble families, attended him with their hair dishevelled, and entreated the people for him. Afterwards the senate met, with intent to decree that the people should change their habits, in token of public mourning. But as the consuls opposed it, and Clodius filled the house with his armed band of ruffians, many of the senators ran out, rending their garments and exclaiming against the outrage.

This spectacle excited neither compassion nor shame; and it appeared that Cicero must either go into exile, or continue the dispute with the sword. In this extremity he applied to Pompey for assistance; but he had purposely absented himself, and remained at his Alban villa. Cicero first begged his son-in-law Piso to him, and afterwards himself. When Pompey was informed of his arrival, he could not bear to look him in the face. He was confounded at the thought of an interview with his injured friend, who had fought such battles for him, and rendered him many services in the course of his administration. But being son-in-law to Caesar, he sacrificed his former obligations to that connection, and went out at a back door, to avoid his presence.

Cicero, thus betrayed and deserted, had recourse to the consuls. Gabinius always treated him rudely; but Piso behaved with civility. He advised him to withdraw from the rage of Clodius's party; to bear this change of the times with patience; and to be once more the saviour of his country, which, for his sake, was in all this trouble and commotion.

After this answer, Cicero consulted with his friends. Lucullus advised him to stay, and assured him he would be victorious. Others were of opinion that it was best to fly because the people would be desirous of his return, when they were weary of his extravagance and madness of Clodius. He approved of this last advice; and taking a statue of Minerva, which he had long kept in his house with great devotion, he carried it to the Capitol, and dedicated it there, with this inscription: TO THE PATRIBUS OF ROME. About midnight he privately quitted the city; and, with his friends who conducted him, took his route on foot through Lucania, intending to go from Brundisium to Sicily.

It was not known that he was gone. Clodius procured a decree of banishment against him, which prohibited fire and water, and admission to any house within 500 miles of Italy. Such was the veneration the people had for Cicero, that in general there was no regard paid to the decree. They showed him

■ of civility, and conducted him ■ way with ■ cordial attention. Only at ■, a city of Lucania, now ■ Vibo, one Vibius, a ■ Sicily, who ■ particular obligations ■ him, and, among other things, had an appointment under him, when consul, as surveyor of the works, ■ refused to admit ■ into ■ house ; ■ at the same time, acquainted ■ that ■ would appoint ■ place ■ the country for his reception. And Caius Virginus,¹ the prætor of Sicily, though ■ Cicero ■ considerable services, wrote to forbid him ■ into that island.

Discouraged ■ these instances of ingratitude, ■ repaired ■ Brundisium, where he embarked for Dyrrhachium. At ■ had ■ favourable gale, but the next day the wind turned about, and drove him back ■ port. He set sail, however, again, as soon ■ the wind ■ fair. ■ is reported, that when ■ going ■ land ■ Dyrrhachium, there happened ■ be an earthquake, and the ■ retired ■ great distance from the shore. The diviners inferred ■ his exile would ■ of no long continuance, ■ these ■ tokens of ■ sudden change. Great numbers of people ■ their respects to him ; and the cities of Greece strove which should show him the greatest civilities ; yet he continued dejected and disconsolate. Like ■ passionate lover, he often ■ a longing look towards Italy, and behaved with a littleness of spirit which could not have been expected from ■ man ■ had enjoyed such opportunities of cultivation from letters and philosophy. Nay, he had often desired his friends not ■ call him an orator, but a philosopher, because he had made philosophy ■ business, and rhetoric only the instrument of his political operations. But opinion has great power to efface the tinctures of philosophy, and infuse the passions of the vulgar into the minds of statesmen, who have a necessary connection and ■ with the multitude : unless they take care so ■ engage in everything extrinsic as ■ attend to the business only, without imbibing the passions that ■ the common ■ sequences ■ that business.

After Clodius had banished Cicero, he burned ■ villas, ■ his house in Rome ; and ■ the place where the latter stood, erected a temple ■ Liberty. *His goods he put up ■ auction, and the crier gave notice of it every day, but no buyer appeared.* By these means, he became formidable to the patricians ; and having drawn the people with him into the ■ audacious insolence and effrontery, he attacked Pompey, and ■ question some of his ■ and ordinances in the wars. As ■ exposed Pompey to some reflections, he blamed himself greatly for abandoning Cicero ; and, entirely changing his plan, took every measure for effecting his return. As Clodius constantly opposed them, ■ decreed that no public business of any kind should ■ despatched by ■ body till Cicero ■ recalled.

■ consulship of Lentulus the sedition increased ; ■

¹Some copies have it *Virginius*.

tribunes were wounded in the forum; Quintus, the Cicero, was left for dead among the slain. The people began to change their opinion; and Annius Milo, of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to call Clodius a violator of the public peace. Many of the people of Rome, and of neighbouring cities, joined Pompey; and then he summoned the citizens to vote. Milo said that nothing was carried among the people with so great unanimity; and the senate, endeavouring to give still higher proofs of their attachment to Cicero, decreed that the cities which he had treated with kindness and respect during his exile, and his country houses, which Clodius had demolished, should be at the public charge.¹

Cicero returned sixteen months after his banishment; and such joy was expressed by the cities, and much eagerness to see him by all ranks of people, that his own account of it is less than the truth, though he said, "That Italy had brought him on her shoulders to Rome." Crassus, who was his enemy, before his exile, now readily went to see him, and was reconciled. In this, he said, he was willing to oblige his son Publius, who was a great admirer of Cicero.

Not long after his return, Cicero, taking his opportunity when Clodius was absent,² went up with a great company to the Capitol, and destroyed the tribunitial tables, in which were recorded all the acts in Clodius's time. Clodius loudly complained of this proceeding; but Cicero answered, "That his appointment as tribune was irregular, because he was of a patrician family, and consequently all his acts were invalid." Cato was displeased, and opposed Cicero in this assertion. Not that he praised Clodius; on the contrary, he was extremely offended at his administration; but he represented, "That it would be a violent stretch of prerogative for the senate to annul many decrees and acts, among which was his commission and regulations in Cyprus and Byzantium." The difference thus produced between Cato and Cicero did not lead to an absolute rupture, but only lessened the warmth of their friendship.

After this Milo killed Clodius; and being arraigned on the fact, he chose Cicero for his advocate. The senate, fearing the prosecution of Milo's spirit and reputation might produce some tumult in the city, appointed Pompey to preside at this and the other trials; and to provide both for the peace of the city and the course of justice. In consequence of which, he posted a body of soldiers to the forum the next day, and secured every part of it. This Milo was so apprehensive that Cicero would be dis-

¹ The consuls decreed for rebuilding his house in Rome near £11,000; for his Tuscan near £2,000; and for his Fregene villa about £1,000 more, which Cicero called a handsome present.

² Cicero had attempted this once before, when Clodius was present; but Cato, the consul, and C. C. C. being present, by his efforts they were rescued out of the hands of Cicero.

concerted at an unusual sight, and less able to plead. He persuaded him to come to a litter to the forum; he repose himself there while the judges were assembled, and filled: for he was not only timid in war, but he had his fears when he spoke in public; and he left trembling even at the height and vehemence of his eloquence. When he undertook to speak in the defence of Licinius Murena,¹ against the prosecution of Cato, he was ambitious to outdo Hortensius, who had already spoken with great applause; for he sat up all night to prepare himself. But his watching and application hurt him so much that he appeared inferior to his rival.

He came out of the litter to open the cause of Milo, and Pompey seated him high, as in a camp, and weapons glistening all around the forum, he was confounded that he could begin an oration. For he shook, and his tongue faltered; though Milo attended the trial with great courage, and his hair grew, or he put on mourning. These circumstances contributed a little to his condemnation. As for Cicero, trembling was imputed rather to his anxiety for his friend than to any particular timidity.

Cicero was appointed one of the priests called Augurs, the room of young Crassus, who was killed in the Parthian war. Afterwards the province of Cilicia was allotted to him; and he sailed thither with an army of 12,000 foot, and 2,600 horse. He had it in view to bring Cappadocia to submit to king Ariobarzanes: which he performed to the satisfaction of all parties, without having recourse to arms. Finding the Cilicians elated on the miscarriage of the Romans in Parthia, and commotions in Syria, he brought them under order by the gentleness of his govern-

He refused the presents which the neighbouring princes offered him. He excused the province from finding him a public table, and daily entertained at his own charge persons of knowledge and learning, with magnificence indeed, but with elegance and propriety. He had no porter at his gate, nor did any ever find him asleep; for he rose early in the morning, and kindly received those who came to pay their court to him, either standing or walking before his door. He is told, that he never caused any man to be beaten with rods, or to have his garments rent;² never gave opprobrious language in his anger, nor added insult to punishment. He recovered the public treasury which had been embossed; and enriched the cities with it. At the same time he was satisfied, who had been guilty of such frauds made restitution, and marked their infamy.

He had also a taste of war; for he routed the bands of robbers who possessed themselves of Mount Amanus, and saluted

¹ Murena had retained three vivandars, Hortensius, Marcus Crassus, and T. J. J.

² This mark of ignominy was of great antiquity. "Whosoever took

David's servants, and shav'd off one hal of their beards, and cut off their garments in the middle, even in their buttocks, we will smite them away." 2 Sam. x. 4

by **his** army *Imperator* **his** account.¹ **Cæcilius**,² **an** orator, having desired him to send him some panthers **from** Cilicia for **his** **Rome**, **he** **answered** he could **not** forbear boasting of **his** achievements. **He** **said**, "There were no panthers **sent** in Cilicia. Those animals, in their vexation to find that they were the only objects of war, **destroyed** everything else **except** **peace**, **and** **sent** **them** into Caria."

He **then** **visited** **the** province **of** Rhodes, and afterwards made **his** **stay** at Athens; which **he** **did** **with** great pleasure, in remembrance **of** the conversations he **had** formerly had there. **He** **had** **the** company of **many** **men** **who** were **famous** for erudition, and visited his former friends and acquaintance. After **he** **had** received all due honours and marks of esteem from Greece, **he** **passed** on **to** Rome, where he found the fire of dissension kindled, and everything tending **to** a civil war.

He **then** **decreed** **himself** a triumph, he said, "He had rather **use** **Caesar's** chariot-wheels in his triumph, if **a** reconciliation could be **effected** between **him** and Pompey." And in private he tried every healing and conciliating method, by writing to **Caesar**, and entreating Pompey. After it **was** **an** open rupture, and **Caesar** **was** on his march **to** Rome, Pompey **did** not choose to **go** for him, but retired, with numbers of the principal citizens in **his** train. Cicero did not **follow** **him** in his flight; and therefore it was **thought** that he would join **Caesar**. It is certain that he fluctuated greatly in his opinion, and **was** in the utmost anxiety. For, he says in his epistles, "Whither **shall** I turn? Pompey **is** the **more** honourable cause; but **Caesar** manages his affairs with the greatest address, and is most able **to** **manage** himself and his friends. In short, I know whom to avoid, but not whom to seek." At last, one Trebatius, **a** friend of **Caesar's**, signified **to** **him** by letter, that **Caesar** thought **it** **was** reason to reckon **on** of his side, **and** **to** consider **himself** as partner of his hopes. But if his age would not permit it, he might retire into Greece, and live **in** **quiet** **and** **quillity**, without any connection with either party. Cicero **was** surprised **at** **Caesar** **and** **he** **wrote** himself, **he** **answered** angrily, "That **he** **would** do nothing unworthy of **his** political character." **He** **then** **gave** the account we have of **him** **in** **his** Epistles.

However, upon **Caesar's** marching from Spain, **he** **crossed** the **Alps** **and** **repaired** **to** Pompey. His arrival **was** agreeable to **the** generality; but Cato blamed **him** privately for taking this **course**. "As for me," **said** **he**, "it would have been wrong **to** **leave** **the** party which **I** embraced from **the** beginning; but you might have been much **more** serviceable to your country and your friends, **if** **you** had stayed **at** Rome, and accommodated yourself **to** events; **and** **now**, without any **excuse** or necessity, you have declared

¹ He not only received this mark of distinction, but public thanksgivings were ordered at Rome for his success; and the people went near to decree him a triumph. His **triumph**, therefore, **was** **declined**.

considerable, and Ptolemy seems to mention them too slightly.

² Not Cæcilius, **but** **Cæcilius** **Metellus** **was** then exile, and **sent** **him** **panthers** for his public shows.

yourself an _____ Caesar, _____ are _____ share in _____ danger _____ which you had nothing _____ do."

_____ arguments made Cicero change his opinion ; especially when _____ found that Pompey did not employ him upon _____ any considerable service. _____ true, no one was to be blamed for this _____ himself ; for he _____ no _____ of his repenting. _____ disparaged Pompey's preparations ; he insinuated his dislike of his counsels, and never spared his jests upon _____ allies. _____ not, indeed, in- _____ laugh himself ; _____ contrary, he _____ camp _____ a very solemn countenance ; but he often made others laugh, though they _____ inclined to it. Perhaps it may _____ amiss to give a few instances. When Domitius advanced _____ man who had _____ for _____ to the rank of Captain, and assigned for _____ reason, that _____ was _____ honest and prudent man ; "Why, then," said Cicero, "do you _____ keep him for governor to your children ?" _____ some _____ commending Theopanes the Lesbian, _____ director of the board of works, for consoling the Rhodians _____ of their fleet, "See," said Cicero, "what _____ is to have _____ Grecian director !" When Caesar _____ successful in almost every instance, and held Pompey _____ it _____ besieged, Lentulus said, "He _____ informed that Caesar's friends looked very sour." "You mean, I suppose," said Cicero, "that they _____ out of humour with him." One Martius, newly arrived from Italy, told them a report prevailed at Rome that Pompey was blocked up in _____ camp : "Then," said Cicero, "you took a voyage on purpose to _____ it." After Pompey's defeat, Nonnius said, "There was room yet for hope, for there were _____ eagles left in the camp." Cicero answered, "That would be good encouragement, if _____ to fight with jackdaws." When Labienus, on the strength of some oracles, insisted that Pompey _____ be conqueror _____ last : "By _____ oracular generalship," said Cicero, "we have lost _____ camp."

After the battle of Pharsalia (in which he was _____ present, _____ account of his _____ health), and after the flight of Pompey, Cato, who had considerable forces, and a great fleet _____ Dyrrachium, desired Cicero _____ take the command, because _____ consular dignity gave him a legal title _____ it. Cicero, however, not only declined it, but absolutely refused taking any farther share in the _____ Upon which, young Pompey and his friends called him traitor, drew their swords, and would certainly have despatched him, had _____ Cato interposed, and conveyed him out of the camp.

He got _____ to Brundisium, and stayed there some time in _____ pection _____ Caesar, who _____ detained by his affairs in Asia and Egypt. When _____ heard that the conqueror _____ arrived _____ Tarentum, and designed _____ proceed from thence by land to Brundisium, _____ him ; _____ without hope, _____ yet without _____ shame and reluctance _____ the thought of trying how _____ stood _____ opinion of a victorious enemy _____ many witnesses. _____ had no occasion, however, either to _____ or to say anything beneath his dignity. _____ him, _____ considerable distance, advancing _____ the rest, than _____ dismounted, _____ ran _____

embrace him ; after which, he went on discoursing with him *per furlongas*. He *proceeded* to *discuss* with great kindness and respect ; inasmuch, that when he *read* written *an* encomium *on* Cato, which *bore* the name of that great man, Cæsar, *in* answer, *he* *Anticato*, praised both the eloquence and conduct of Cicero ; *and* he greatly resembled Pericles and Themistocles.

When Quintus Ligarius was prosecuted for bearing *arms* against Cæsar, *and* Cicero had undertaken to plead *his* cause, Cæsar *is* reported *to* have said, "What, may we *give* ourselves a pleasure which *we* have *enjoyed* so long, that of hearing Cicero speak ; since *I* *already* *my* resolution *is* *to* Ligarius, who is clearly a *man*, as well as my enemy ?" But he was greatly moved when Cicero began ; and his speech, as it proceeded, had such a variety of pathos, *an* irresistible a charm, that his colour often changed, and it was *such* that his mind was torn with conflicting passions. At last, when the orator touched on *the* *business* of Pharsalia, he was so extremely affected, that his whole frame trembled, and he let drop some papers out of his hand. Thus, conquered by *the* force of eloquence, he acquitted Ligarius.

The commonwealth being changed into a monarchy, Cicero withdrew from the scene of public business, and bestowed his leisure on the young men who were desirous to be instructed *in* philosophy. As these *of* *the* best families, by his interest with them he once *obtained* great authority in Rome, and made it his business *to* compose and translate philosophical dialogues, and *to* render the Greek *of* logic and natural philosophy in the Roman language. For it is said that he *did*, *principally*, at least, gave Latin terms for these Greek words, *phantasia* [imagination], *synecathesis* [assent], *epoche* [doubt], *catalepsis* [comprehension], *atomos* [atoms], *indivisibile* [indivisible], *kenon* [void], and many other such *in* science ; contriving either by metaphorical expression, *or* strict translation, to *make* them intelligible and familiar *to* Romans. His ready turn for poetry afforded him amusement ; for, we are told, when *he* *was* intent upon it, *he* could make five hundred verses in one night. As in this period *of* *his* time *in* his Tusculan villa, he wrote to his friends, "That he led the *life* of Laertes ;" either by way of raillery, as his *was*, or from *his* ambitious desire of public employment, and discontent *with* his present situation. *That* as it may, *he* rarely *left* Rome, and then only *to* *visit* his court to Cæsar. *He* *was* always one *of* *the* first to *accept* additional honours, and forward *to* *do* *any* thing new of *himself* and his actions. Thus, when Cæsar ordered Pompey's statues, which had *been* pulled down, *to* *be* again, Cicero said, "That by *the* *display* of humanity *in* setting *up* Pompey's statues, *he* *was* *honouring* his own."

He *is* reported *to* *have* *formed* *a* design *to* *write* *the* history of his own country, *in* which *he* *intended* *to* *have* interwoven many of the *most* *important* affairs, *but* *he* *inserted* *only* their speeches, *for* *he* *was* prevented by many disagreeable circumstances, both

public and private, into *which* *he* brought *himself* by his indiscretion. For, in the first place, he divorced his wife Terentia. The reasons assigned were, *that* *she* had neglected *him* during *the* war, and *sent* *him* without necessaries. Besides, *after* *he* *returned* *to* Italy, *she* behaved to him with little regard, *and* *he* *remained* *in* Italy during *his* long stay *at* Brundisium. Nay, *his* daughter, *at* *that* time very young, *made* *a* long journey *with* *him*, *and* *he* allowed her but an *inadequate* equipage, and *few* supplies. Indeed, according to his account, *he* *became* *naked* *and* *empty* through the many debts which *he* had contracted. These *were* *the* most specious pretences for *his* divorce. Terentia, however, denied all *these* charges; and Cicero himself *made* *a* apology for her, by marrying *a* younger woman *long* *after*. Terentia said, he took her merely *for* *her* beauty; but *his* freedman Tyro *said* *that* *he* married her for her wealth, *that* *he* might *pay* *him* *his* debts. *She* was, indeed, very rich, and her fortune *was* *in* the hands of Cicero, who was *her* guardian. As his debts were great, his friends and relations persuaded him *to* marry the young lady, notwithstanding the disparity of years, and satisfy his creditors out of her fortune.

Antony, in his *exile* to the Philippics, *repudiated* *his* wife with whom he was grown old (then 62); and rallied him on account of his perpetual keeping *at* home, like *a* *man* unfit either for business *or* *war*. Not long after this match, his daughter Tullia, who, after the death of Piso, had married Lentulus, died in childbirth. The philosophers came from all parts to comfort him; for his loss affected him extremely; and he *put* *away* *his* new bride, because she seemed to rejoice at the death of Tullia. In this posture were Cicero's domestic affairs.

As *to* those of the public, *he* *had* *no* share in the conspiracy against Caesar, though *he* *was* *one* of Brutus's particular friends; and *was* *more* uneasy under the new establishment, *than* *he* *was* desirous of having *the* commonwealth restored. Possibly *from* *his* natural deficiency of courage, *as* *well* *as* his time of life, *which* *was* *his* boldest begin *to* droop. *At* *the* work *done* *by* Brutus and Cassius, *his* friends of Caesar assembled *at* *his* death; and it *was* *apprehended* *that* Rome would again be plunged *into* *the* civil war. Antony *when* *he* *was* consul, ordered a meeting of the senate, and made a short speech *on* *the* necessity of union. But Cicero expatiated *at* *length* *on* *the* subject suitable to the occasion; and persuaded the senate, *in* *imitation* *of* the Athenians, to *grant* *a* general amnesty *to* *all* *that* *had* *been* *done* *against* Caesar, *and* *to* *revoke* *the* decree provinces to Brutus and Cassius.

Some *of* these things, however, took effect: *the* *people* *were* *inclined* *to* *pity* *this* *man*; *and* *when* *they* *saw* *the* *body* *of* *Caesar* *carried* *into* *the* *forum*, *where* *Antony* *showed* *them* *his* *robe* *stained* *with* *blood*, *and* *pierced* *on* *all* *sides* *with* *swords*, *they* *broke* *out* *into* *a* *transport* *of* *rage*. They sought *for* *the* *forum* *in* *that* *tragedy*, and ran with lighted torches *to* *burn* *their* *houses*. By their precaution they escaped this danger; *and*

they saw others, no ■■■ considerable, impending, they ■■■ the city.

Antony, ■■■ with this advantage, became ■■■■ all the opposite party, who supposed ■■■ he would aim at nothing less than absolute power ; but Cicero ■■■ particular ■■■■ dread him. For being sensible that Cicero's weight in the administration ■■■ established again, and of ■■■ strong attachment ■ Brutus, Antony could hardly bear his presence. Besides, there had long been ■■■ jealousy and dislike between them on ■■■ of the dissimilarity of their lives. Cicero, fearing ■■■ event, ■■■ inclined ■■■ with Dolabella into Syria, ■■■ his lieutenant. But afterwards Hirtius and Pansa, who were ■■■ be consuls after Antony, persons of great merit, ■■■ good friends to Cicero, desired ■■■ ■■■ leave them ; and promised, with his assistance, ■■■ destroy Antony. Cicero, without depending much on their scheme, gave ■■■ ■■■ of going with Dolabella, and agreed with the consuls-elect ■■■ pass the summer in Athens, and return when they entered upon their office.

Accordingly he embarked for that place without taking any principal Roman along with him. ■■■ his voyage being accidentally retarded, news ■■■ brought ■■■ Rome (for he did ■■■ choose to be without news) that there was a wonderful change in Antony ; that he took all his steps agreeably ■■■ ■■■ sense of the senate ; and that nothing but his presence ■■■ wanting to bring ■■■■ to the best establishment. He therefore condemned his excessive caution, and returned ■■■ Rome.

His first hopes were not disappointed. Such crowds came out to ■■■ him, that almost a whole day was spent at the gates, and on his way home, in compliments and congratulations. Next day Antony convened the senate, and sent for Cicero ; but he kept his bed, pretending that he was indisposed with his journey. In reality he ■■■■ have been afraid of assassination, in consequence of ■■■ hints he received by the way. Antony ■■■ extremely incensed ■■■ these suggestions, and ordered ■■■ party of soldiers either ■■■ bring him, ■■■ burn his house in case of refusal. However, at ■■■ request of numbers who interposed, ■■■ revoked that order, and bade ■■■ only bring ■■■ pledge from his house.

After this, when they happened ■■■ meet, they passed each other in silence, and lived in mutual distrust. Meantime *young Cæsar*, arriving from Apollonia, put in his claim ■■■ ■■■ to his uncle, and sued Antony for 25,000,000 drachmas,¹ which he detained of the ■■■■

Hereupon Philip, who had married the mother, and Marcellus, who ■■■ husband ■■■ the sister of Octavius, brought ■■■ ■■■ Cicero. It ■■■ agreed between them, that Cicero should assist Cæsar with his eloquence and interest, ■■■ with the ■■■■ and the people ; and that Cæsar should give Cicero ■■■ the protection that ■■■ wealth and military influence could afford ; for ■■■ young ■■■■ had already

¹ FIVE HUNDRED MILLIONS IN THE ROMAN. It appears from Plutarchus and others that it was given three or more times.

collected a number of the who had under uncle.

Cicero received the his friendship with pleasure. For while Pompey and Cæsar were living, Cicero, seems, had a dream, in which he thought called some boys, the sons of senators, up Capitol, because Jupiter designed to pitch of them for sovereign of Rome. The citizens all eagerness expectation, placed themselves about the temple; and the boys prætextæ silent. The doors suddenly opening, the boys by one, and, in their order, passed round the god, who reviewed them all, sent them away disappointed: but when Octavius approached, he stretched out his hand him, and said, "*Romans, this is the person who, when he to be your prince, will put end to your civil wars.*" This vision, they tell us, made such an impression upon Cicero, that he perfectly retained the figure and countenance of the boy though he did not yet know him. Next day he went down to the Campus Martius, when the boys were just returning from exercises: and the first who struck his eye the lad in the very form that he had seen in his dream. Astonished the discovery, Cicero asked him who were his parents; and he proved to be the son of Octavius, a person not much distinguished in life, and of Attia, sister to Cæsar. As he was near a relation, and Cæsar had no children of his own, he adopted him, and, by will, him his estate. Cicero, after dream, whenever he young Octavius, is said to have treated him with particular regard; and he received those marks of friendship with great faction. Besides, he happened to be born the year that Cicero

These pretended be the of their present connection. But leading motive with Cicero his hatred Antony; and the next his natural avidity for glory. For he hoped to throw weight of Octavius into the scale of the wealth; and the latter behaved to him with such a puerile deference, that he even called him father. Hence Brutus, in his Atticus, expressed his indignation against Cicero, and said, "That, through fear of Antony he paid his court to young Cæsar, it plain that his measures for the liberty of country, but only obtain a gentle master for himself." Nevertheless, finding the of Cicero at Athens, where studying under philosophers, gave him command, and employed him upon services which proved successful.

Cicero's power this time was at its greatest height; he carried every point that he desired; insomuch that expelled Antony, raised such a spirit against him, that the consuls Hirtius and Pansa were give; and Cicero likewise prevailed upon to grant Cæsar the fasces, the dignity of prætor, as that fighting for country.

Antony, indeed, beaten; but both the consuls action, the troops ranged themselves under the banners of Cæsar. The senate fearing the views of a young man who

it would [] Cicero to [] his flight, and for Quintus to [] his house, and get some supplies. This resolution being fixed upon, they embraced each other with every expression of sorrow, and [] parted.

A few days after, Quintus and his [] betrayed by [] to [] assassins who came in quest of them, and lost their lives. As for Cicero, [] carried to Astyra; where, finding [] vessel, he [] immediately went on board, and coasted along [] Circæum with [] favourable wind. The pilots [] preparing immediately to sail from thence; but whether it [] that he feared the sea, [] had [] yet given up [] his hopes in Caesar, [] disembarked, [] and travelled [] hundred furlongs on foot, [] Rome had been [] place of his destination. Repenting, however, afterwards [] that road, and made again for the []. He passed the night in the [] perplexing and horrid thoughts; inasmuch that he [] times inclined [] privately into Caesar's house and stab himself upon the altar of his domestic gods, to bring the divine [] upon his betrayer. But he [] deterred from this by the fear of torture. Other alternatives, equally distressful, presented themselves. At last he put himself in the hands of his servants, [] ordered them to carry him by sea to Cajeta,¹ where he had a delightful retreat in the summer, when the Etesian winds set in. There [] a temple of Apollo on that coast from which a flight of crows came, with great noise, towards Cicero's vessel, [] it was making land. They perched on both sides the sail-yard, where some [] croaking and others pecking the ends of the ropes. All looked upon this as an ill omen; yet Cicero went on shore, and, entering his house, lay down to repose himself. In the meantime a number of the [] settled in the chamber-window, and croaked in the most doleful []. One of them [] entered in, and alighting [] the bed, attempted with its beak to draw off the clothes with which he had covered his face. On sight of this, the [] began [] reproach themselves. "Shall we," said they, "remain [] be spectators of our master's murder? Shall we not protect him, so innocent and [] great a sufferer [] is, when [] brute [] give him marks of their [] and attention?" Then, partly by entreaty, and partly by force, they got him into [] litter, and carried him towards the [].

Meantime the assassins [] up. They [] commanded by Herennius, a centurion, and Pompilius, [] tribune, whom Cicero [] formerly [] when under a prosecution for parricide. The doors of the house being made fast, they [] open. [] Cicero [] appear, and the servants who [] left [] they knew nothing of him. [] a young man, [] logus, [] brother Quintus's freedman, whom Cicero had [] in the liberal arts and sciences, informed the tribune that they were carrying the litter through deep shades to the sea-side. []

¹ According to Appian, Cicero was killed near Capri; but Valerius Maximus says the [] that tragedy was at Cajeta.

² The north-east winds.

tribune, taking a few soldiers with him, ran to the end of the walk where he was to come out. *But Cicero perceiving that Herennius was hastening after him, ordered his servants to set the litter down; and putting his left hand to his chin, as was his custom to do, looked steadfastly upon his murderers. Such an appearance of misery on his face, overgrown with hair, and wasted with anxiety, affected the attendants of Herennius, who covered their faces during the melancholy scene. That officer despatched him, stretched his neck out of the litter to receive the blow. He fell Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Herennius cut off his head, by Antony's command, his hands too, which he had written the *Philippics*. Such was the title of his orations against Antony, and they retain it to this day.*

When three parts of Cicero's body were brought to Rome, Antony happened to be holding an assembly for the election of magistrates. He soon beheld them, than he cried out, "Now is an end of all proscriptions." *He ordered his head and hands to be fastened up to the rostra, a dreadful spectacle to the Roman people, who thought they did not so much to the face of Cicero, as a picture of Antony's soul. Yet he did one act of justice on this occasion, which was the delivering up Philologus to Pomponia, the wife of Quintus. When she, mistress of his fate, beside other horrid punishments, she made him cut off his own limbs by piecemeal, and roast and burn it. This is the story some historians give; but Tyro, Cicero's freedman, makes no mention of the treachery of Philologus.*

I am informed, that a long time after, Cæsar going to see one of his grandsons, found him with a book of Cicero's in his hands. The boy, alarmed at the accident, endeavoured to hide the book under his robe; which Cæsar perceived, and took it from him; and after having read most of it over as he stood, he returned it, and said, "*My dear child, this was an eloquent man, and a lover of his country.*"

Being consul at the time when he conquered Antony, he took the name of Cicero for his colleague; under whose auspices he took down the statues of Antony, defaced the images of his honour, and decreed, that for the future of his family should bear the name of Marcus. Thus the divine justice reserved the completion of Antony's punishments for the house of Cicero.

MARCUS BRUTUS.

THE great name of Marcus was that Junius to whom the ancient Romans erected a statue of brass, placed it in the Capitol amongst their kings. He was represented with a drawn sword in his hand, to signify the spirit and firmness with which he vanquished the Tarquins: but, hard tempered

steel of which that sword was composed, and no degree by education, the severity which impelled against tyrant, shut up his natural affection from his children, when he found those children conspiring for the support of tyranny. the contrary, that Brutus, whose life writing, all the advantages arise from the cultivation of philosophy. To spirit which naturally and mild, he vigour and activity by application. Upon the whole, was happily formed to virtue, both by nature and education. Even the partizans of Cæsar ascribed him every thing that had appearance of honour generosity in the spiracy, that of a contrary complexion they laid charge of Cassius; who was, indeed, the and relation of Brutus, but by means resembled him the simplicity his. It universally allowed, that his mother, Servilia, was descended from Servilius Ahala, who, when Spurius Mælius seditiously aspired the monarchy, went up him in the forum, under a pretence of business, and, Mælius inclined his head to hear what he would say, stabbed him with a dagger, which he had concealed for the purpose.¹ But the partizans of Cæsar would not allow that he descended from Junius Brutus, whose family, they said, was extinct with his sons.² Marcus Brutus, according to them, a plebeian, descended from Brutus, a steward, of extraction; and that the family had but lately risen any dignity in the state. On the contrary, Posidonius the philosopher agrees with those historians, who say, that Junius Brutus had a third, who was an infant when his brothers were put to death, and that Marcus Brutus was descended from him. He further tells us, that there several illustrious persons of that family in his time, with whom he was well acquainted, and who very much resembled the statue of Junius Brutus.³

Cato, the philosopher, brother to Servilia, the mother of Brutus, who greatly admired and imitated the virtues of his uncle, and married his daughter Porcia.

Brutus was acquainted with all the sects of the Greek philosophers, and understood their doctrines; but the Platonists stood highest in his esteem. had no great opinion either of the new, of the academy; but applied himself wholly the studies of the ancient. Antiochus, of Ascalon, therefore his favourite, and entertained his brother Ariston in his own house; a man, who, though inferior of the philosophers in learning, was equal the first of them in modesty, prudence, and gentleness of Empylus, who likewise with Brutus as we in

¹ Livy, and other historians, relate differently. Some of them say, that Servilius, who was then general of the horse, put Mælius to death by order of Cincinnatus the dictator.

² Of this number is Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

³ There were several distinguished persons of this family in the year of Rome 535: some of whom opposed the abrogation of the Cyprian law, he being by the Roman law, I. x.

his own epistles, and in those of his friends, was an orator, and left a short, but a well written narrative of the death of Caesar, *Brutus*

Brutus spoke with great ability in Latin, both in the field and in the bar. In Greek he affected the sententious and laconic way. There were several instances of this in his epistles. Thus, in the beginning of the civil war he wrote to the Pergamenes "I hear you have given money to Dolabella. If you give it willingly, you must own you injured me; if unwillingly, show it by giving willingly to me." Thus, on another occasion, to the Samians "Your actions are tedious, your actions slow, what think you, will they be in sequence?" Of the Patavians thus "The Xanthians rejected my kindness, and desperately made their country their grave. The Patavians confided in me, and retained their liberty. It was your choice to follow the prudence of the Patavians, and the fate of the Xanthians." And such was the style of his remarkable letters.

When he was yet very young, he accompanied Cato to Cyprus, in the expedition against Ptolemy. After Ptolemy had killed himself, Cato, being detained by business in the isle of Rhodes, Caninius seized the king's treasure, but suspecting his fidelity, he wrote to Brutus to sail immediately to Cyprus from Pamphylia, where, after a fit of sickness, he stayed for the re-establishment of his health. Brutus obeyed the order with reluctance, both from respect to Caninius, who was superseded with disgrace, and because he thought the employment liberal, and by no means proper for a young man who was in pursuit of philosophy. Nevertheless he executed the commission with such diligence that he had the approbation of Cato, and having turned the effects of Ptolemy into ready money, he brought the greatest part of it to Rome.

When Rome was divided into two factions, Pompey and Caesar were in arms against each other, and generally believed that Brutus would join Caesar, because his father had been pulled down by Pompey. However, he thought it his duty to sacrifice his sentiments to the interest of his country, and judging Pompey's to be the better cause, he joined his party, though before, he would not even salute Pompey when he met him, considering it a crime to have any conversation with the murderer of his father. He now looked upon him as the head of the commonwealth, and, therefore enlisting under his banner, he went for Sicily in quality of lieutenant to Sestius, who was governor of the Island. There, however, he found no opportunity to distinguish himself, being informed that Pompey and Caesar were engaged with each other, and preparing for that battle on which the whole world depended, he voluntarily offered to have his share in the danger. Pompey, it is said, was surprised and pleased with his coming, that he sent him to the presence of his guards, and treated him with as much respect as if he had been superior. During the time that he was in camp, those hours that he did not spend with Pompey he employed in reading

study, and passed day before battle of Pharsalia. It of summer, intense, marshy situation of disagreeable, and his tent-bearers were long in coming. Nevertheless, though extremely harassed and fatigued, he did not anoint himself till noon; and then, taking a morsel of bread, while others rest, or musing on the event of the ensuing day, he employed himself the evening in writing epitome of Polybius.

Cæsar, is said, high an esteem for him, that ordered officers by him, if he would surrender himself, and, if he refused, let him escape with life. Some have placed kindness the of Servilia, the mother of Brutus, with whom Cæsar had connections of a tender In early part of his life.¹ Besides, *this amour was full blown about time when Brutus was born, Cæsar had to believe he might be his son.* The intrigue notorious. When the debating on the dangerous conspiracy of Catiline, Cato and Cæsar, who took different sides of the question, happened to sit near each other. In the midst of the business, a note was brought to Cæsar from without, which he read silently to himself. Cato, hereupon, loudly accused Cæsar of receiving letters from the enemies of the commonwealth; and Cæsar, finding that it had occasioned disturbance in the senate, delivered the note to Cato as he had received it. Cato, when he found it to nothing but a lewd letter from his sister Servilia, threw it back again to Cæsar. "Take it, you sot," said he, and went on with the public business.

After the battle of Pharsalia, when Pompey fled towards the sea, and Cæsar was storming the camp, Brutus escaped through of the gates, and fled into a watery marsh, where he hid himself amongst the reeds. From thence he ventured out in the night, and got safe Larissa. From Larissa he Cæsar, who expressed the greatest pleasure in hearing of his safety, sent for him, and entertained him amongst the first of his friends. When no one could give which way Pompey fled, Cæsar walked for time alone with Brutus, consult his opinion; and finding that it for Egypt, he rejected the opinions of the rest, and directed march for that country. Pompey had, indeed, taken of Egypt, Brutus conjectured; but he had already fate.

Brutus had much influence with Cæsar that reconciled him his friend Cassius; and when he spoke in behalf of king of Africa, though there were many impeachments against him, obtained for him a great part of kingdom.² When he first began speak occasion, Cæsar said, "I know what

¹ These connections were well known. Cæsar made her a present, on a certain occasion, of a pearl which cost him near £20,000. In the civil wars he assigned to her a confiscated estate for a mere trifle; and when the people expressed their surprise at his cheapness, Cæsar said him

grossly, *Quo melius captem defectis est.* Tertia a daughter Servilia's, and *defecto* was a term in procuring business.

² Plutarch must here be mistaken. It was Diotarus, and not the king of Africa, that Brutus pleaded for.

this young [REDACTED] intends, but [REDACTED] it is, [REDACTED] i. strongly." His [REDACTED] was steady, and not easily moved by entreaties. *His principles [REDACTED] and honour, and virtue, [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] which these directed him he prosecuted with so [REDACTED] vigour that he [REDACTED] failed of success.* No flattery could induce him to attend [REDACTED] unjust petitions; and though that ductility of [REDACTED] which may be wrought upon by the impudence of importunity [REDACTED] by some called good-nature, [REDACTED] considered it as the greatest disgrace. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] say that [REDACTED] suspected those who could refuse [REDACTED] favours [REDACTED] very honestly employed the flower of their youth.

Cæsar, previously to his expedition into Africa against Cato [REDACTED] Scipio, appointed Brutus to the government of Gallio Cisalpina. And this [REDACTED] very fortunate for that particular province. For while [REDACTED] inhabitants of other provinces [REDACTED] oppressed, [REDACTED] like slaves, by the violence and rapacity of their governors, Brutus behaved with so much kindness to the people under his jurisdiction, that they [REDACTED] [REDACTED] indemnified for their former sufferings. Y[ET] [REDACTED] ascribed everything to the goodness of Cæsar; and it [REDACTED] small gratification to the latter to find, on [REDACTED] through Italy, [REDACTED] only Brutus himself, but all the cities under his command, ready [REDACTED] attend his progress, and industrious to do him honour.

As there [REDACTED] several prætorships vacant, it [REDACTED] general opinion, that the chief of them, which is the prætorship of the city, would be conferred either on Brutus or [REDACTED] Cassius. Some [REDACTED] that this competition heightened the variance that had already taken place between Brutus and Cassius; for there [REDACTED] a misunderstanding between them, though Cassius [REDACTED] allied [REDACTED] Brutus by marrying his sister Junia. Others say that this competition was a political [REDACTED] of Cæsar's, who had encouraged it by favouring both their hopes in private. Be that [REDACTED] it may, Brutus [REDACTED] little [REDACTED] than [REDACTED] reputation of his virtue to set against the gallant actions performed by Cassius in the Parthian [REDACTED] Cæsar weighed the merits of each; and after consulting with his friends, "Cassius," [REDACTED] said, "has the better title [REDACTED] it, notwithstanding Brutus [REDACTED] have [REDACTED] prætorship." Another prætorship was, therefore, given to Cassius: but he [REDACTED] not [REDACTED] much obliged by this as offended by the loss of the first. Brutus had, [REDACTED] least might have had, equal influence with Cæsar in everything else: he might have stood [REDACTED] first in authority [REDACTED] interest, b[UT] [REDACTED] drawn [REDACTED] by Cassius's party. [REDACTED] that he was perfectly reconciled to Cassius since the competition for the prætorial appointments; [REDACTED] listened [REDACTED] friends, who [REDACTED] perpetually advising him [REDACTED] be soothed or cajoled by Cæsar; but [REDACTED] reject the civilities of a tyrant whose object was not to reward, [REDACTED] disarm his virtue. On the other hand, Cæsar [REDACTED] suspicious, and Brutus his [REDACTED]; yet the former thought [REDACTED] had less [REDACTED] fear from his spirit, [REDACTED] authority, and his connections, than [REDACTED] hope from his honesty. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] told that Antony and Dolabella [REDACTED] some dangerous conspiracy [REDACTED] foot, "It [REDACTED] not," said he, "the [REDACTED] and

■ men ■ I fear, but ■ pale ■ lean ;" meaning Brutus and Cassius. Afterwards, when he was advised ■ beware of Brutus, he laid his hand upon ■ breast, and said, "Do not you think, then, that Brutus ■ wait ■ I have done with this poor body?" As ■ thought Brutus the only proper person ■ succeed him in his immense po■■. Indeed it ■ extremely probable that Brutus would have been the first man in Rome, could ■ have had patience awhile ■ the second, and have waited till time had wasted the power of Cæsar, and dimmed the lustre of his great actions. But Cassius, a ■ of violent passions ■ an enemy to Cæsar, rather from personal than political hatred, ■ urged him against ■ dictator. It was universally said, ■ Brutus hated the imperial power, and that Cassius hated the emperor. Cassius, indeed, pretended that Cæsar had injured him. He complained that the ■ which he had procured when he ■ nominated ædile, and which ■ had sent ■ Megara, Cæsar had taken and converted ■ use, having found them there when that city ■ taken by Calanus. Those lions, it is said, were very ■ the inhabitants ; for as ■ soon as their city ■ taken, they opened their dens, and unchained them in the streets, that they might ■ stop the irruption of the enemy : but instead of that they ■ upon the citizens, and tore them in such a manner that their very enemies were struck with horror. Some say that this ■ the principal motive with Cassius for conspiring against Cæsar ; but they are strangely mistaken. *Cassius had a natural aversion to the whole race of tyrants*, which he showed even when he ■ at school with Faustus the son of Sylla. When Faustus was boasting amongst the boys of the unlimited power of his father, Cassius rose and struck him on the face. The friends and tutors of Faustus would have taken upon themselves to punish the insult ; but Pompey prevented it, and, sending for ■ boys, examined them himself. Upon which Cassius said, "Come along, Faustus ! repeat, if you dare, before Pompey, the expressions which provoked me, that I may punish you in the ■ manner."

But Brutus ■ animated ■ this undertaking by the persuasion of his friends, by private intimations, and anonymous letters. Under the statue of his ancestor, who destroyed the Tarquins, ■ placed a paper with these words : *O that ■ had ■ Brutus now ! O ■ Brutus ■ now alive !* His ■ tribunal ■ which ■ prætor, ■ continually filled with such inscriptions ■ these : *Brutus, thou sleepest ! Thou art not ■ Brutus !* The sycophants of Cæsar ■ the occasion of this ; for, amongst other invidious distinctions which they paid him, they crowned ■ by night, that the people might salute ■ king, ■ dictator. However, it ■ a contrary effect.

■ Cassius solicited his ■ to engage in ■ conspiracy, they ■ consented, ■ condition ■ Brutus would ■ lead. They concluded that ■ was not strength of hands, or resolution, that they wanted, ■ the countenance of a ■ of reputation, ■ preside ■ this sacrifice, ■ justify ■ They ■

without him, they should neither proceed with spirit, suspicion when they had effected their purpose. The world, they knew, would conclude, that if the action honourable, Brutus would not have refused in it. Cassius having considered these things, determined to pay Brutus first visit after the quarrel that been between them; and the compliments of reconciliation were over, he asked him, "Whether he intended to be in the on the calends of March; for it reported," he said, "that Cæsar's friends designed to move that he should be declared king." Brutus answered, "He should there;" and Cassius replied, "But what if they should for us?" "It would then," said Brutus, "be my duty, only speak against it, but to sacrifice my life for the liberties of Rome." Cassius, encouraged by this, proceeded:—"But what Roman will bear you die? Do not you know yourself, Brutus? Think you that those inscriptions you found on your tribunal placed there by and victuallers, and by the first men in Rome? From other pators they look for presents and shows, and gladiators; but from you they expect the abolition of tyranny, as a debt which your family has entailed upon you. They are ready to suffer everything on your account, if you really what you ought, and what they expect you to be." After this he embraced Brutus, and being perfectly reconciled, they retired to their respective friends.

In Pompey's party there was one Quintus Ligarius, whom Cæsar had pardoned, though he had borne arms against him. This man, grateful for the pardon he had received than offended with the power which made him stand in need of it, hated Cæsar, but the intimate friend of Brutus. The latter day visited him, and finding him not well, said, "O Ligarius! what a time this to be sick?" Upon which he raised himself on his elbow, and taking Brutus by hand, answered, "If Brutus has any design worthy of himself, Ligarius is well." They now tried the inclinations of all they could trust, and took into the conspiracy, only their familiar friends, but such they knew to be brave, and above the fear of death. For this reason, though they had the greatest regard for Cicero, and the utmost confidence in his principles republican, they concealed the conspiracy from him, his natural timidity, and the weariness of age, should retard those required resolute despatch.

Brutus likewise thought proper to leave his friends, Favonius, the followers of Cato, out of the conspiracy. had tried their sentiments, under the colour of a philosophical dispute; which Favonius observed, that the worst absolute government preferable a civil Statilius added, that it became no wise expose himself to and danger, of the faults and follies of others. But Labeo, who present, contradicted both. And Brutus, though then silent, the dispute had been difficult to determine, afterwards communicated the design Labeo, who readily concurred it. It was

agreed to gain the other Brutus, surnamed Albinus, who, though distinguished by his personal courage, of consequence, of great number of gladiators he bred for public shows, and the entire confidence that Cæsar placed in him. To solicitations of Cassius and Labæus, made answer; but when he came privately to Brutus, and found that he was the of conspiracy, he made no example of joining them. The of Brutus drew in many of the most considerable of state; and though they had into oath of secrecy, they kept the design so close, that, notwithstanding the gods themselves denounced the by a variety of prodigies, no one would give credit to the conspiracy.

Brutus now felt his consequence lie heavy upon him. The safety of of greatest men in Rome depended on conduct, and he could think of the danger they to without anxiety. In public, indeed, he suppressed : but at home, and especially by night, he was not the . Some- he would from his sleep; others, totally immersed in thought. From which, and the like circumstances, it was obvious to his wife, that he was revolving in his mind difficult and dangerous enterprise. Porcia the daughter of Cato. She married to her cousin Brutus very young, though she was a widow, and had a son, named Bibulus, after his father. There a small of his still extant, called *Memoirs of Brutus*. Porcia added to the affection of a wife the prudence of who was not unacquainted with philosophy; and she resolved to inquire into her husband's secrets before she had made the following trial of her own firmness. ordered all her attendants out of her apartment, and, with a small knife, gave herself a deep wound in the thigh. This occasioned a great effusion of blood, extreme pain, and a fever in consequence of that pain. Brutus was extremely afflicted for her, and he attended her, in the height of her pain, she thus spoke him: "*Brutus, when you married the daughter of Cato, you did not, I presume, consider her merely a female companion, but the partner of your fortunes. You, indeed, have given me reason to repent my marriage; but what proof, either of affection or fidelity, can you receive from me if I may neither share your secret griefs, in your secret councils!*" sensible that secrecy not the characteristic virtue of my but surely natural weakness may be strengthened by a virtuous education, and by honourable connections; and Porcia can boast that she is the daughter of Cato, and the wife of Brutus. Yet in these distinctions I placed absolute confidence. I tried and found that I was proof against pain." When she had said this, she showed her wound, and informed him of her motives: upon which Brutus so struck with her magnanimity, that with lifted hands, entreated the gods favour his enterprise, and enable him to himself worthy of Porcia. took every means to cure her wound, and her health.

A meeting of the [] being appointed, [] which Caesar was expected [] attend, [] was thought a proper time [] [] [] tion of their design. For *then* they could not only appear together without suspicion, [] as some of [] most considerable pe [] the commonwealth would be present, they flattered themselves that, as soon [] deed was done, they would join in asserting the common liberty. The place too where [] [] [] seemed providentially favourable for their purpose. It [] a portico adjoining [] theatre, [] in the [] of a saloon, furnished with benches, also a statue of Pompey, [] been erected to him by [] commonwealth, when he adorned [] part of the city with those buildings. Here the [] [] convened [] the ides of March; and it seemed [] if some god should bring Caesar [] this place to revenge upon him the death of Pompey.

When the day came, Brutus [] out, and took with him a dagger, which last circumstance [] known only [] wife. The rest [] the house of Cassius, and conducted his son, who was that day [] put on the *toga* [] to the *forum* : from whence they proceeded to Pompey's portico, and waited for Caesar. Any one that had been privy [] the design of the conspirators, []ld here have been astonished at their calm and consistent firmness. Many of them [] prætors, and obliged by their office [] hear and determine causes. These they [] with so much calmness, and decided with [] much accuracy, [] one could not have supposed there had been anything else upon their minds; and when a [] in person appealed from the judgment of Brutus to Caesar, Brutus looking round [] assembly, said, *Caesar neither does, [] shall hinder [] from acting agreeably to the laws.* Nevertheless they were disturbed by many accidents. Though the day [] spent, still Caesar did not come, being detained by his wife and the soothsayers, [] account of defects in the sacrifices. In [] time a person [] up [] Casca, [] of the conspirators, and taking him by the hand, "You concealed the thing from me," said he, "but Brutus has told me all." Casca expressed [] surprise; upon which [] other said, laughing, "How came you to be [] rich [] sudden, as to stand for the ædileship;" [] the great [] being blown by the ambiguity of [] man's discourse! at the [] time Popilius Læna, a [] tutor, after saluting Brutus and Cassius in a very obliging manner, said, in a whisper, "My best wishes are with you;—but make no delay; for [] now [] secret." After saying this, [] immediately went away, and left them [] great consternation; [] they concluded that everything was discovered. Soon after [] a messenger came running from Brutus's house, and told him that his wife was dying. Porcia [] under [] anxiety, and in great agitation about the event. At every [] noise [] voice [] heard, [] started up and [] door, [] of the frantic priestesses of Bacchus, inquiring [] every one that [] from the *forum* , what Brutus [] doing. [] after messenger to [] the [] inquiries; [] being unable any longer to support the agitations [] mind, she []

length away. ■■■ had not ■■■ retire ■■■ her chamber. As she ■■■ in ■■■ middle of the house, her spirits failed, her colour changed, ■■■ her senses and her speech. Her women shrieked, the neighbours ■■■ their assistance, and a report was ■■■ spread through the city, ■■■ Porcia ■■■ dead. However, by the ■■■ of those that were about her, she recovered in a little time. Brutus ■■■ greatly distressed with the news, and not without reason; but *his private grief gave way to the public concern*, for ■■■ reported that Cæsar ■■■ coming in ■■■ litter. The ill omen of his sacrifices had deterred him from entering on business of importance, and ■■■ proposed ■■■ defer it under a pretence of indisposition. As ■■■ as he came out of the litter, Popilius Læna, who a little before had wished Brutus success, went up, and spoke ■■■ him for ■■■ considerable time, Cæsar all the while standing, and seeming very attentive. The conspirators ■■■ being able ■■■ hear what he said, suspected from what passed between him and Brutus, that he ■■■ making a discovery of their designs. This disconcerted them extremely, and looking upon each other, they agreed, by the silent language of the countenance, that they should ■■■ to be taken, but despatch themselves. With this intent Cassius and ■■■ others ■■■ just about to draw their daggers from under their robes, when Brutus, observing from the looks and gestures of Læna that he was petitioning, and not accusing, encouraged Cassius by the cheerfulness of his countenance. This ■■■ the only way by which he could communicate ■■■ sentiments, being surrounded by ■■■ who were strangers ■■■ the conspiracy. Læna, after a little while, kissed Cæsar's hand, and left him; and it plainly appeared, upon the whole, that he had been speaking about his own affairs.

The senate was already seated, and the conspirators got close about Cæsar's chair, under a pretence of presenting a suit to him. Cassius turned his face to Pompey's statue, and invoked it, as if he had been sensible of his prayers. Trebonius kept Antony in conversation without the court. And Cæsar entered, and the whole senate ■■■ salute him. The conspirators crowded around him, and set Tullius Cimber, ■■■ of their number, to solicit the recall of his brother, who was banished. They all united in the solicitation, took hold of Cæsar's hand, and kissed his head and his breast. He ■■■ rejected their applications, and finding that they would ■■■ desist, ■■■ length rose from his seat in anger. Tullius upon this laid hold of his robe, and pulled it from his shoulders. Casca, who stood behind, gave ■■■ first, though but a slight wound with his dagger, near the shoulder. Cæsar caught the handle of the dagger, and said ■■■ Latin, "Villain! Casca! What dost thou mean?" Casca, ■■■ Greek, called his brother ■■■ his assistance. Cæsar ■■■ wounded by numbers ■■■ instant, and ■■■ round him for ■■■ to escape; but when he saw the dagger of Brutus pointed against him, he let go Casca's hand, and covering his head ■■■ his robe, resigned himself ■■■ their swords. The conspirators pressed so eagerly ■■■ him, that they wounded each other. Brutus, in attempting

to have his share in the sacrifice, received a wound in his hand, and all of them were covered with blood.

Cæsar thus slain, Brutus stepped forward into the senate-house, and proposing to make a speech, he was the first to stay. They fled, however, with the utmost precipitation though he pursued; for the conspirators had no design on any but Cæsar's; and, that he was away, they invited the people to liberty. Indeed, all but Brutus were of opinion that Antony should fall with Cæsar. They considered him as an insolent man, who by his principles, hadoured monarchy; and who had himself popular in his army. Moreover, besides his natural disposition to despotism he had at this time the consular power, and was the colleague of Cæsar. Brutus, on the other hand, alleged the injustice of such a measure, and suggested the possibility of Antony's change of principle. Brutus thought it far from being improbable, that, after the destruction of Cæsar, a man so passionately desirous of glory, should be inspired by the emulation to join in restoring the commonwealth. Thus Antony was saved; though, in the general consternation, he was in the disguise of a plebeian. Brutus and his party betook themselves to the Capitol; and showing their bloody hands and naked swords, proclaimed liberty to the people as they passed. At first all was lamentation, distraction, and tumult: but no further violence was committed, the senators and the people covered their apprehensions, and went in a body to the conspirators in the Capitol. Brutus made a popular speech adapted to the occasion; and this being well received, the conspirators were encouraged to come down into the forum. The rest were undistinguished; but persons of the first quality attended Brutus, conducted him with great honour from the Capitol, and placed him in the rostrum. At the sight of Brutus, the populace, though disposed to tumult, was struck with reverence: and when he began to speak, they attended with silence. It soon appeared, however, that it was not the action, but the man, they respected; for when Cinna spoke, and accused Cæsar, they loaded him with the most opprobrious language; and became so outrageous that the conspirators thought it best to retire into the Capitol. Brutus was expected to be besieged, and therefore dismissed the principal people that attended him; because he thought it unreasonable that they who had no share in the action should be exposed to danger that they might incur it. The next day the people gathered in the temple of Tellus, and Antony, Plancus, and Cicero, in their respective speeches, persuaded and prevailed the people to forget what was passed. Accordingly the conspirators were only pardoned, but it was decreed that the consuls should take into consideration what honours and dignities were due to them upon them. After this the civil war broke up; and Antony, having his son as an hostage to the Capitol, Brutus and his party went down, and mutual compliments passed between them. Cassius was invited to dine with Antony, Brutus with Lepidus, and the conspirators were reconciled by their respective friends.

Early next morning the senate assembled again, and voted thanks to Antony for preventing a civil war, as well as Brutus and his party for their services to the commonwealth. The latter provinces distributed amongst them. Crete was allotted to Brutus, Africa to Cassius, Asia to Trebonius, Bithynia to Cimber, and other provinces that part of Gaul which lay upon the Po.

Cæsar's will, and his funeral, were in question. Antony proposed that the will should be read in public; and that the funeral should be in private, or without proper magnificence, lest such a course should exasperate the people. Cassius strongly opposed this; but Brutus agreed to it, and the matter was referred to a second senate. The preservation of the republic was a formidable enemy to Antony; but his giving up the funeral was an irreparable fault. The publication of the will had an immediate tendency to inspire the people with a passionate regret for the death of Cæsar; for he had been each Roman citizen 75 drachmas, beside the public use of his gardens beyond the Tiber, where now the temple of Fortune stands. When the body was brought into the forum and Antony spoke the usual funeral eulogium, as he perceived the people affected by his speech, he endeavoured still more to work upon their passions by folding the bloody garment of Cæsar, showing them in how many places it was pierced, and pointing out the number of his wounds. This threw everything into confusion. Some called aloud to kill the murderers; others, as was formerly done in the case of that seditious demagogue Clodius, snatched the benches and tables from the neighbouring shops, and erected a pile for the body of Cæsar, in the midst of consecrated places surrounding temples. As soon as the pile was in flames, the people, crowding from all parts, snatched the half-burned brands, ran round the city, fired the houses of the conspirators, but they were on their guard against such an assault, and prevented the effects.

There was a poet named Cinna, who had no concern in the conspiracy, but was rather a friend of Cæsar's. This man dreamed that Cæsar invited him to supper, and that, when he declined the invitation, he took him by the hand, and constrained him to follow him into a dark and deep place, which he entered with the same horror. This agitation of his spirits threw him into a fever, which lasted the remaining part of the night. The morning, however, when Cæsar was to be interred, he was absent from the solemnity: he therefore mingled with the multitude, just been enraged by the speech of Antony; and being unfortunately mistaken for that Cinna, who had before inveighed against Cæsar, he was torn to pieces. This, more than anything, except Antony's change of conduct, enraged Brutus and his party. They now thought it necessary to consult their safety, and retired to Antium. Here they sat down, with an intent to return as soon as popular fury should subside; for this, considering the inconstancy of the multitude, they concluded they should long wait. The senate, moreover, was much interested in

though they punish the murderers Cinna, they caused strict inquiry to be made after those who had burnt the houses of the conspirators. Antony became popular to the people; for they suspected him of erecting another kind of monarchy. The friends of Cinna consequently wished for, and, as he was to exhibit shows and games in his capacity of prætor, it was expected. Brutus, however, received intelligence, from several of Cæsar's old soldiers, whom he had distributed lands and colonies, had stolen by small parties into Rome, and that they lay in wait for him: he therefore did not think proper to expose himself; notwithstanding which, the shows that he exhibited were extremely magnificent: he had bought a considerable number of wild beasts, and ordered that they should all be reserved for that purpose. He went to Naples to collect a number of comedians; being informed of this Canutius, who was much admired upon the stage, and his friends, use all their interest to bring him to Rome. Canutius was a Grecian; and Brutus, therefore, thought that no compulsion should be used. He wrote likewise to Cicero, and begged that he would, by all means, be present at the public shows.

Such was the situation of his affairs, when the arrival of Octavius at Rome, things took another turn. He was the nephew to the sister of Cæsar, who had adopted and appointed him his heir. He was pursuing his studies at Appollonia, and in expectation of meeting Cæsar there on his intended expedition against the Parthians, at the time when Cæsar was slain. Upon hearing of this event, he immediately came to Rome, and, to ingratiate himself with the people, assumed the name of Cæsar. By punctually distributing amongst the citizens the money that he left them by his uncle, he soon gained the lead of Antony; and, by his liberality to the soldiers, he brought to his party the greater number of those who had served under Cæsar. Cicero likewise, who hated Antony, joined his interest. And this he much resented by Brutus, that, in his letters, he reproached him in the severest terms. "He perceived," he said, "that Cicero was not enough to bear a tyrant, and was only afraid of the tyrant that hated him;—that his compliments to Octavius meant to purchase easy slavery: but his ancestors," said Brutus, "scorned to bear even a gentle master." He added, that "As to the offer of peace, it was undetermined; but in one thing he was resolved, which was, to be a slave!" He expressed surprise, "That Cicero should prefer an infamous accommodation even to the danger of civil war; and that the only fruits he expected from destroying the tyrant of Antony should be the establishment of a new tyrant, Octavius." Such was the spirit of his letters.

The city was now divided into two factions, some joined Cæsar, others remained with Antony, and the army was sold to the highest bidder. Brutus, of course, despaired of any desirable success; and, being resolved to leave Italy, he went by Lucania, and came to the maritime town of Elee. Porcia, being returned from

Rome, endeavoured, as possible, conceal the oppressed her ; but, notwithstanding her magnanimity, a picture which she found there betrayed her distress. The subject the parting of Hector and Andromache. He represented delivering his Astyanax into her arms, and the eyes of Andromache upon him. The resemblance that this picture bore to her own distress, made her burst into the it ; and several times she visited the melancholy emblem, upon it, weep before it. On this occasion Acilius, of Brutus's friends, repeated that in where Andromache says :

Yet while my Hector still survives, I weep
 father, mother, brethren, all in thee.

To which Porcia replied, with a smile, " But I not answer Hector's Andromache ;—

—Hasten to thy tasks at home,
 There guide the spindle and direct the loom.

PORC.

not personal strength, indeed, to sustain the toils we undergo, but her spirit is not less active in the cause of her country." This anecdote have from Bibulus, the son of Porcia.

From Elea, Brutus sailed for Athens, where he received with high applause, and invested with public honours. There he took up his residence with a particular friend, and attended the lectures of Theonnestus the academic, and Bratippus the peripatetic, devoting himself wholly literary pursuits. Yet in this unsuspected state he was privately preparing for war. He despatched Herostratus into Macedonia, to gain the principal officers in that province ; and he secured by his kindness all the young Romans who were students then at Athens. Amongst was son of Cicero, on whom he bestowed the highest encomiums ; and said, that he could admiring spirit of that young man, who bore such mortal hatred to tyrants.

At length he began act more publicly ; and being informed that of the Roman ships laden with money, were returning from Asia, under the command of a man of honour, a friend of his, he him Carystus, a city of Euboea. There had a conference with him, and requested that he would give up the ships. By the by, it happened he Brutus's birth-day, on which occasion he gave a splendid entertainment, and while they were drinking *Victory Brutus and Liberty to Rome*, encourage the cause, he called for a larger bowl. While he held it in his hand, without any visible relation to the subject they upon, he pronounced this :

was doom'd by Phœbus and by

Some historians say, Apollo was the word gave his in the last battle at Philippi ; and, of conclude, that this exclamation a presage his defeat. Antistius, the commander of the ships, 500,000 drachmas of the money he carrying Italy. The remains of Pompey's army that

Thessaly, readily joined his standard ; and these, he took 500 horse whom Cinna conducting Dolabella in Asia. He then to Demetrias, and a large quantity of which Julius Cæsar provided for the Parthian war, and which were now to be Antony. donia delivered up him by Hortensius prætor ; and the neighbouring princes readily offered their When news received that Caius, brother of Antony, marched through Italy, join the forces under Gabinus Dyrrachium Apollonia, determined to seize arrived, and made a forced march with such troops were at hand. The way was rugged, and the deep ; but he moved with such expedition his sutlers were a long way behind, he had almost reached Dyrrachium, he seized with the disorder *Bubinia*, violent hunger, occasioned by and fatigue. disorder affects and cattle, after fatigues in the Whether it is, that perspiration being prevented by the cold, vital heat is confined, and more immediately consumes the aliment ; or, a keen and subtle vapour rising from the melted penetrates the body, and destroys the heat by expelling through pores : the seem to arise from the heat contending with the cold, which being repelled by the latter, the vapoury steam is diffused over the surface of the body. Brutus growing very faint, and provisions being at hands, his forced to the gates of the enemy, and beg bread of the sentinels. they were informed of the distress of Brutus, they brought him and drink with their own hand ; and in return for their humanity, when he had taken the city, showed kindness both to them and the rest of the inhabitants.

Caius arrived in Apollonia, summoned the that were quartered the city to join him ; but finding they all with Brutus, and suspecting that those in Apollonia favoured the party, he went to Buthrotus. Brutus, however, found means to destroy three of his cohorts in their march. Caius, after this, attempted to seize posts Byllis, but was routed in a set by young Cicero, whom Brutus had given the command of army that occasion, and whose conduct made of frequently, and with success. Caius afterwards surprised in a sh, from whence he escape ; and finding him in his power, surrounded with his cavalry, and gave orders that none of his should killed ; for he expected they would quickly join him of their accord. expected, pass. They surrendered both themselves and their general, so that Brutus had now a very respectable army. treated Caius for a long time with possible respect ; nor divest him of any ensigns of dignity that bore, though is he received letters from several persons at Rome, and particularly from Cicero advising him to put him death. At length, however, when found was secretly practising

his officers, exciting some amongst soldiers, put him on board a ship, and kept him close prisoner. The he had corrupted retired Apollonia, from whence they Brutus, that if he would come there, they would return their duty. Brutus answered, "That this the of Romans, but that those who offended should in person their general, and solicit forgiveness." This they did, and accordingly pardoned.

He was preparing to go into Asia, when he was informed of a change in affairs at Rome. *Young Caesar, supported by the senate, had got better of Antony, and had driven him out of Italy; but, at the same time, began to be no less formidable himself; for he solicited the consulship contrary to law, and kept in pay an unnecessary army.* Consequently the senate, though they at first supported, were dissatisfied with his And as they began to turn their eyes on Brutus, and decreed or confirmed several provinces to him, Caesar was under some apprehensions. He therefore despatched messengers to Antony, and desired that a reconciliation might take place. After this he drew up his army around the city, and carried the consulship, though but a boy in his twentieth year, as he tells us in his Commentaries. He was no sooner consul than he ordered a judicial process to issue against Brutus and his accomplices, for murdering the first magistrate in Rome without trial or condemnation. Lucius Cornificius was appointed to accuse Brutus, and Marcus Agrippa accused Cassius; neither of whom appearing, the judges were obliged to pass against both. It is said, that when the crier, as usual, cited Brutus to appear, the people could suppress their sighs; and persons of the first distinction heard it in dejection. Publius Sillcius was observed to burst into tears, and this was the cause why he was afterwards proscribed. *The triumviri, Caesar, Antony, and Lepidus, were reconciled, divided the provinces amongst them, and settled that list of murder, in which 200 citizens, and Cicero amongst the rest, were proscribed.*

When the report of these proceedings was brought into Macedonia, Brutus found himself under a necessity of sending orders Hortensius to kill Caius, the brother of Antony, in revenge of the death of Cicero, his friend, and Brutus Albinus, his kinsman, who was slain. This was the reason why Antony, when he had taken Hortensius at the battle of Philippi, slew him upon his brother's tomb. Brutus was that he was ashamed of the of Cicero's death than grieved at the event: while he saw Rome by her fault, than by the of her tyrants, and continue a spectator of such scenes as ought not have been heard of without horror.

The army of Brutus was now considerable, and he was preparing to route into Asia, was preparing Bithynia and Cyzicum. As he marched by land, he settled of cities, audience to the princes of those countries through which he passed. orders Cassius, who was in Syria, to

give up **his** intended journey **to** Egypt, and join him. On **that** occasion **he** **informed** him, that their collecting forces **should** destroy **the** **tyranny** **was** **an** **empire** **to** **themselves** : but **to** **deliver** their fellow-citizens : that **they** **should** **never** **forget** **the** **great** **object** of their undertaking, but, adhering to their **firm** intentions, keep Italy within their eye, **and** **hasten** **to** **their** **country** **as** **soon** **as** **possible**.

Cassius, accordingly, **went** **out** **to** **join** **him**, **and** **Brutus** **the** **time** **making** **progress** **to** **him**, their interview was **at** **Smyrna**. Till this meeting they **did** **not** **each** **other** **since** **they** **parted** **the** **Piræus** **of** **Athens**, when Cassius **was** **for** **Syria**, and Brutus **for** **Macedonia**. The forces they **each** **respectively** **collected** gave them great joy, and made them confident of success.—From Italy they had fled, like solitary exiles, without money, without arms, without **a** **ship**, **a** **soldier**, or a town **to** **fly** **to**. Yet now, **in** **short** **a** **time**, they found themselves supplied with shipping and money, with an army of horse and foot, **and** **in** **a** **condition** **of** **contending** **for** **the** **empire** **of** **Rome**. Cassius **was** **no** **less** **respectful** **to** **Brutus** **than** **Brutus** **was** **to** **him** ; but the latter would generally wait upon him, as he was the older man, and of a feeble constitution. Cassius **was** **esteemed** **an** **able** **soldier**, but of a fiery disposition, and ambitious **to** **command** **rather** **by** **fear** **than** **affection** : though, **at** **the** **same** **time**, with **his** **familiar** **acquaintance**, he was easy **in** **his** **manners**, **and** **fond** **of** **raillery** **in** **excess**. *Brutus, on account of his virtue, was respected by the people, beloved by his friends, admired by men of principle, and not hated even by his enemies. He was mild in his temper, and had a greatness of mind that was superior to anger, avarice, and the love of pleasure. He was firm and inflexible in his opinions, and zealous in every pursuit where justice or honour were concerned.* The people had the highest opinion of his integrity and sincerity in **every** **undertaking**, and this naturally inspired them **with** **confidence** **and** **affection**. Even Pompey the Great had hardly ever **so** **much** **credit** **with** **them** ; for who **could** **imagine**, that, if he had conquered Cæsar, he would have submitted **to** **his** **laws**, and would **not** **have** **retained** **his** **power** **under** **the** **name** **of** **consul** **or** **dictator**, or **under** **any** **specious** **popular** **name** ? Cassius, on **the** **contrary**, a man of violent passions and rapacious avarice, **was** **suspected** **of** **exposing** **himself** **to** **toil** **and** **danger**, rather from **a** **thirst** **of** **power** **than** **an** **attachment** **to** **the** **liberties** **of** **his** **country**. The former disturbers of the commonwealth, Cinna, and Marius, and Carbo, evidently **loved** **their** **country** **as** **a** **stake** **for** **the** **winner**, and hardly scrupled **to** **own** **that** **they** **fought** **for** **empire**. **They** **were** **the** **very** **enemies** **of** **Brutus** **who** **charged** **him** **with** **this**. Even Antony has been heard to say, that Brutus **was** **only** **conspirator** **who** **lost** **the** **sense** **of** **honour** **and** **justice** **for** **his** **motive** ; and that the rest were wholly actuated by malice or envy. It **is** **clear**, too, from what Brutus himself says, that **he** **finally** **and** **principally** **relied** **on** **his** **own** **virtue**. Thus he writes **to** **Atticus** **immediately** **before** **an** **engagement**, “That **my** **affairs** **were** **in** **the** **most** **desirable** **situation** **imaginable** ; for that either he should

conquer, and restore liberty to Rome, or die, and be free slavery; that this only a question, Whether they live free men!" adds, that Mark Antony properly punished his folly; who, when he might have ranked with Brutus, Cassius, and Cato, chose rather be the underling of Octavius; and that if he fall in the approaching battle, they would very at variance with each other. In which he seems have been a prophet.

Whilst they were Smyrna, Brutus desired Cassius him have part of the treasure he had collected, because chiefly expended in equipping a fleet to gain the superiority at the friends of Cassius advised him against this; alleging, that would be absurd to give Brutus that money which he had saved with much frugality, and acquired with so much envy, merely that Brutus might increase his popularity, by distributing it amongst the soldiers. Cassius, however, gave him a third of what he had, and then they parted for their respective commands. Cassius behaved with great severity the taking of Rhodes; though, when he first entered the city, and was saluted with the title of king and master, he answered, "That he was neither their king nor their master, but the destroyer of him who would have been both." Brutus demanded supplies of men and money from the Lycians: but Naucrates, an orator, persuaded the cities to rebel, and some of the inhabitants posted themselves the hills with an intent oppose the passage of Brutus. Brutus at first despatched a party of horse, which surprised them at dinner, and killed 600 of them. But afterwards, when he had taken the adjacent and villages, he gave up the prisoners without ransom, and hoped to gain them to his party by clemency. Their former sufferings, however, made them reject his humanity, and those that still resisted being driven into the city of Xanthus, there besieged. As a river ran close by the town, several attempted escape by swimming and diving; but they prevented by down for that purpose, which had little bells top, to give notice when any one taken. The Xanthians afterwards made a sally in the night, and fire several of the battering engines; but they perceived and driven back by the Romans; at time the violence of the winds drove flames the city, so that several houses near the battlements took fire. Brutus, being apprehensive that the whole city would be destroyed, sent soldiers assist the inhabitants in quenching the fire. But the Lycians seized with incredible despair, a kind of frenzy which otherwise be described than by calling it a passionate desire of death. Women and children, freemen and slaves, people of and conditions, repulse the soldiers they to their assistance from the walls. With their own hands they collected wood and reeds and manner of combustibles, spread the over the city, and encouraged its progress by every in their power. Thus assisted, the fire the whole dreadful rapidity; whilst Brutus,

extremely [redacted] calamity, rode round [redacted] walls, [redacted] stretching forth his hands [redacted] inhabitants, entreated [redacted] spare themselves [redacted] their city. Regardless of [redacted] entreaties, they sought by every [redacted] put an [redacted] to their lives. Men, women, and even children, [redacted] hideous cries, leaped into [redacted] flames. [redacted] threw themselves headlong from the walls, and others [redacted] upon the swords of their parents, opening their breasts, and begging [redacted] be slain.

[redacted] city was in a great [redacted] reduced [redacted] ashes, [redacted] was [redacted] who had hanged herself, with her young [redacted] fastened to her neck, and the torch in her hand, with which [redacted] had fired her house. This deplorable object so much [redacted] Brutus that he wept when he [redacted] told of it, [redacted] proclaimed a reward to any soldier who could save a Xanthian. It is [redacted] no more than 150 [redacted] preserved, and those against their will. Thus the Xanthians, as if fate [redacted] appointed certain periods for their destruction, after a long [redacted] of years, sunk [redacted] that deplorable ruin, in which the [redacted] rash despair had involved their [redacted] in the Persian war : for they too burned their city, and destroyed themselves.

After this, when the Patarcans likewise made resistance, Brutus [redacted] under great anxiety whether he should besiege them ; for he [redacted] afraid they should follow the desperate [redacted] of the Xanthians. However, having some of their women whom he had taken prisoners, he dismissed [redacted] without ransom ; and those returning to their husbands [redacted] parents, who happened [redacted] be people of the first distinction, so much extolled the justice and moderation of Brutus, that they prevailed [redacted] them to submit, and put their city in his hands. The adjacent cities followed their example, and found that his humanity exceeded their hopes. Cassius compelled every Rhodian to give up all the gold and silver in his possession, by which he amassed 8,000 talents ; and yet he laid [redacted] public under a [redacted] of 500 talents more ; but Brutus took only 150 talents [redacted] the Lycians, and, without doing them any other injury, [redacted] his army into Ionia.

Brutus, in the [redacted] of this expedition, did many acts of justice, and [redacted] vigilant in the dispensation of rewards and punishments. An instance of this I shall relate, because both he himself, and every honest Roman, [redacted] particularly pleased with it. When Pompey the Great, after his overthrow at Pharsalia, [redacted] into Egypt, and landed [redacted] Pelusium, the tutors [redacted] ministers [redacted] young Ptolemy consulted what measures they should take on the occasion. [redacted] they [redacted] of [redacted] opinions. Some were for receiving him, others for excluding [redacted] out of Egypt. Theodotus, a Chian by birth, and a teacher of rhetoric by profession, who then attended [redacted] king in that capacity, was, for want of abler ministers, admitted [redacted] the council. This man insisted [redacted] both [redacted] in [redacted] wrong ; those who were for receiving, and those who were [redacted] expelling Pompey. The best measure they could take, he said, would [redacted] put him [redacted] death, and concluded [redacted] speech with the

proverb, ■ ■ ■ *men do not* ■ ■ ■ The council ■ ■ ■ into his opinion ; ■ ■ ■ pay the Great, ■ ■ ■ example ■ ■ ■ mutability ■ ■ ■ fortune, sell a sacrifice ■ ■ ■ the arguments of ■ ■ ■ sophist, ■ ■ ■ that sophist ■ ■ ■ afterwards to boast. ■ ■ ■ long after, upon Cæsar's arrival in Egypt, ■ ■ ■ of ■ ■ ■ murderers received their proper reward, and ■ ■ ■ put to death ; but Theodotus made ■ ■ ■ Yet, though for ■ ■ ■ while he gained from fortune the poor privilege of ■ ■ ■ wandering and despicable life, ■ ■ ■ last into the hands of Brutus, ■ ■ ■ he ■ ■ ■ passing through Asia ; and, by paying the ■ ■ ■ his baseness, became more memorable from his death than ■ ■ ■ anything ■ ■ ■ his life.

About this time Brutus sent for Cassius to Sardis, ■ ■ ■ with ■ ■ ■ friends ■ ■ ■ him. The whole army being ■ ■ ■ up, saluted ■ ■ ■ the ■ ■ ■ with ■ ■ ■ title of *Imperator*. But, as ■ ■ ■ usually happens in great affairs, where many friends and many officers ■ ■ ■ engaged, mutual complaints ■ ■ ■ suspicions ■ ■ ■ between Brutus and Cassius. To ■ ■ ■ these more properly, they retired into ■ ■ ■ apartment by themselves. Expostulations, debates, and ■ ■ ■ followed ; and these were so violent that they burst into ■ ■ ■ Their friends without ■ ■ ■ surprised at the loudness and asperity of the conference ; but though they were apprehensive of the consequence, they durst not interfere, because they had been expressly forbidden to enter. Favonius, however, ■ ■ ■ imitator of Cato, but rather an enthusiast than rational ■ ■ ■ his philosophy, attempted to enter. The ■ ■ ■ in waiting endeavoured to prevent him, but it ■ ■ ■ easy ■ ■ ■ stop the impetuous Favonius. He ■ ■ ■ violent in ■ ■ ■ whole conduct, and valued himself less on his dignity ■ ■ ■ senator than on ■ ■ ■ kind of cynical freedom on saying everything he pleased ; nor ■ ■ ■ this unentertaining ■ ■ ■ those ■ ■ ■ could bear with his impertinence. However, he broke through the door and ■ ■ ■ red the apartment, pronouncing, in a theatrical tone, what Nestor ■ ■ ■ in Homer,

Young men, be ■ ■ ■ older than you ■ ■ ■

Cassius laughed ; but Brutus thrust him out, telling ■ ■ ■ that he pretended to be ■ ■ ■ *cynic*, but ■ ■ ■ in reality ■ ■ ■ *dog*. This, however, put an end to the dispute ; and for that time they parted. Cassius gave ■ ■ ■ entertainment in the evening, ■ ■ ■ which Brutus invited ■ ■ ■ friends. When they ■ ■ ■ seated, Favonius ■ ■ ■ in from bathing. Brutus called aloud ■ ■ ■ him, telling ■ ■ ■ that he ■ ■ ■ invited, and bade him go to ■ ■ ■ lower end of the table. Favonius, notwithstanding, thrust himself in, and ■ ■ ■ down ■ ■ ■ the middle. On ■ ■ ■ occasion ■ ■ ■ was much learning and good humour ■ ■ ■ the con-

The day following, ■ ■ ■ Lucius Pella, who ■ ■ ■ been prætor, ■ ■ ■ employed ■ ■ ■ of trust, being impeached by the Sardians ■ ■ ■ bezzling the public money, was disgraced and condemned by Brutus. This was very mortifying to Cassius ; for, ■ ■ ■ little before, two of ■ ■ ■ own friends had been accused of the same crime ; but he had absolved them in public, ■ ■ ■ contenting himself with giving them a private reproof, ■ ■ ■ them in office. Of course, he

charged Brutus with rigid an exertion of laws at a time when lenity was much more politic. Brutus, on the other hand, reminded him of the day of March, the time when they had killed Cæsar; who was not, personally speaking, the scourge of mankind, but only abetted and supported those that were within his power. He asked him consider, that if the neglect of justice could be connived at, it might have been done before; and that they had better have borne the oppressions of Cæsar's friends than suffered the malpractices of their enemies to pass with impunity: "For then," continued he, "we could have been blamed only for cowardice, but now, after all we have undergone, we lie under the imputation of injustice." Such were the principles of Brutus.

When they were about to leave Asia, Brutus, it is said, saw an extraordinary apparition. Naturally watchful, sparing in his diet, and assiduous in business, he allowed himself but little time for sleep. One day he slept, nor in the night, till his business was over, and, being retired, he had nobody to disturb him with. But at that time, involved as he was in the operations of war, and solicitous for the event, he only slumbered a little after supper, and spent the middle of the night in ordering his most urgent affairs. When these were despatched, he employed himself in reading till the third watch, when the tribunes and centurions came to him for orders. Thus, a little before he left Asia, he was sitting alone in his tent, by a dim light, and at a late hour. The whole army lay in sleep and silence, when the general, wrapped in meditation, thought he perceived something enter his tent: turning towards the door, he saw a horrible and monstrous spectre standing silently by his side. "*What art thou?*" said he boldly. "*Art thou god or man? And what is thy business with me?*" The spectre answered, "*I am thy evil genius, Brutus! Thou wilt soon see me at Philippi.*" To which he calmly replied, "*I'll meet thee there.*" When the apparition was gone, he called his servants, who told him they had neither heard any noise, nor had any vision. That night he did not go to rest, but went early in the morning to Cassius, who told him what had happened. Cassius, who was of the school of Epicurus, and used frequently to dispute with Brutus on these subjects, answered him thus: "It is the opinion of our sect, that not everything we see is real; that the spectre is evasive, and sense deceitful. Besides, the impressions it receives are by the quick and subtle influence of imagination, thrown into a variety of forms, many of which have their archetypes in nature: and this imagination effects as easily as we may make an impression on wax. The mind of man, having itself plastic powers, and the component parts, of fashion vary its objects to pleasure. This is clear from the sudden transition of dreams, which the imagination can educe from the slightest principles such as an amazing variety of forms, and call into all the passions of the soul. The mind is perpetually in motion, and this motion is imagination, or thought. But the body,

as in your case, ■ fatigued ■ labour, ■ naturally suspends, ■ perverts the regular functions of the mind. Upon the whole, ■ highly improbable that there should be any such beings ■ demons, ■ spirits; or that if there were such, they should assume a human shape or voice, or have any power to affect us. At the same time I ■ could ■ there ■ such beings, that we might ■ rely on ■ and armies, but find the concurrence of the gods in ■ sacred and glorious enterprise." Such were the arguments ■ made ■ of ■ satisfy Brutus.

When ■ army began to march, two eagles perched ■ first standards, and accompanied them ■ far ■ Philippi, being constantly fed by the soldiers; but the day before ■ battle they flew away. Brutus had already reduced most of the nations in these parts; nevertheless, ■ traversed the sea-coast ■ against Thasus, that, if any hostile power remained, he might bring ■ into subjection. Norbanus, who ■ encamped in the straits ■ Symbolum, they ■ rounded in such ■ manner that they obliged him ■ quit the place. Indeed, ■ narrowly escaped losing his whole army, which had certainly been the case, had ■ Antony ■ his relief with such amazing expedition that Brutus could not believe it to be possible. Caesar, who had been kept behind by sickness, joined ■ army about ten days after. Brutus ■ encamped over against him; Cassius was opposite to Antony. The space between the two armies the Romans call the plains of Philippi. Two armies of Romans equal in numbers to these, had never before met ■ engage ■ other. Caesar's was something superior in numbers: but in the splendour of arms and equipage was far exceeded by that of Brutus; for most of their ■ of gold and silver, which their general had liberally bestowed upon them. Brutus, in other things, had accustomed his officers ■ frugality; but the riches which his soldiers carried about with them, would ■ once, he thought, add ■ the spirit of the ambitious, and make the covetous valiant in the defence of those ■ which ■ their principal wealth.

Caesar made ■ lustration of his army within the camp, and gave each private man a little corn, and 5 drachmas only for ■ sacrifice. But Brutus, to show his contempt of the poverty ■ the avarice ■ Caesar, made a public lustration of his army in the field, and ■ only distributed cattle ■ each cohort for the sacrifice, but ■ 50 drachmas ■ the occasion to each private ■ Of ■ was more beloved by ■ soldiers, and they ■ ready ■ fight for him. ■ is reported, that, during the lustration, an unlucky omen happened to Cassius. The garland he was to ■ the sacrifice ■ presented ■ him, the wrong side outwards. ■ too, that ■ a solemn procession, some time before, the person who bore ■ golden image of victory before Cassius, happened ■ stumble, and ■ image ■ the ground. Several birds of prey hovered daily about ■ camp, and swarms of bees ■ trenches. Upon which, the soothsayers ordered the part where they appeared ■ shut up: for Cassius, with all ■ Epicurean

philosophy, began to be superstitious, and soldiers tremely disheartened by these omens.

For this reason Cassius was inclined to protract war, and unwilling hazard whole of the event on a present engagement. What made for this measure was, that they stronger in money and provisions, inferior in numbers. Brutus, on other hand, was, as usual, for an immediate decision; that he might either give liberty to his country, rescue fellow-citizens from toils and expenses of war. encouraged likewise by the his cavalry met with in several skirmishes; and some instances of desertion and mutiny in camp, brought over many of the friends of Cassius to his opinion. But there one Attellius, who still opposed immediate decision, and advised put it off till the next winter. When Brutus him what advantages he expected from that, answered, "If I gain nothing else, I least live much the longer." Both Cassius and of the officers displeased with this answer; and determined to give battle the day following.

Brutus, that night, expressed great confidence and cheerfulness; and having passed the time of supper in philosophical conversation, he went to rest. Messala says, that Cassius supped in private with of his most intimate friends; and that, contrary to his usual manner, he pensive and silent. adds, that, after supper, he took him by the hand, and pressing it close, he commonly did, token of his friendship, he said in Greek,—“Bear witness, Messala, that I reduced the same necessity with Pompey the Great, of hazarding the liberty of my country on one battle. Yet I have confidence in good fortune, on which ought still to rely, though the measures we have resolved upon indiscreet.” These, Messala tells us, were the last words that Cassius spoke, before he bade him *farewell*; that the day, being his birthday, he invited Cassius sup with him.

Next morning, it was light, the scarlet robe, which the signal for battle, hung out in the tents of Brutus and Cassius; and they themselves met plain between the two armies. On this occasion, Cassius thus addressed himself to Brutus:—“May the gods, Brutus, make this day successful, that we may pass of our days together in prosperity. But the important of human events the most uncertain; and each other any more, I unfortunate on this occasion, tell me what is your resolution concerning flight and death.”

Brutus, answered: “In the and less experienced part of my life, I led, upon philosophical principles, to condemn the conduct of Cato, in killing himself. I thought it once impious unmanly sink beneath stroke fortune, and refuse lot that had befallen. In my present situation, however, I of opinion. So that Heaven should be favourable our wishes, no longer solicit my hopes or my fortune, but contented with it, such it is.

I devoted my life to my country; and since that time I lived liberty and glory." At these words Cassius smiled, bracing Brutus, said, "Let us march then against the enemy; for with these resolutions, though we conquer, we have nothing to fear!" They then consulted with their friends concerning the order of battle. Brutus desired that he might command the right wing, though that post was thought more proper for Cassius on account of his experience: Cassius, however, stepped up to him, and placed Messala, with the best of his legions, in that wing. Brutus immediately drew out his cavalry, which was equipped with great magnificence, and the foot followed close upon them.

Antony's soldiers at this time employed in making a trench from the marsh where they were encamped, cut off Cassius's communication with the camp. Caesar lay still in his tent, confined by sickness. His soldiers were far from expecting that the enemy would come to a pitched battle. They supposed that they were only making excursions to harass the trench-diggers with their light arms; and perceiving that they were pouring in upon them, they were astonished at the outcry they heard from the trenches. Brutus, in the meantime, sent tickets to the several officers with the word of battle, and rode through the ranks to encourage his men. There were few who had patience to wait for the word. The greatest part, before it could reach them, fell with loud shouts upon the enemy. This precipitate onset threw the army into confusion, and separated the legions. Messala's legion got beyond the left wing of Caesar, and was followed by that which was stationed near him. In their way they did nothing more than throw some of the enemy into disorder, and killed few of the enemy; their great object was to fall upon Caesar's camp, and they made directly up to it. Caesar himself, as he tells in his Commentaries, had but just before been conveyed to his tent; in consequence of a vision of his friend Artorius, which commanded that he should be carried to the camp. This made it believed that he was slain; for the soldiers had pierced his empty litter in many places with darts. Those who were taken in the camp were put to the sword, among whom were 2,000 Lacedæmonian auxiliaries. Those who attacked Caesar's legions in front easily put them to the rout, and cut three legions in pieces. After this, borne along with the impetuosity of victory, they rushed into the camp at the same time with the fugitives, and Brutus was in the midst of them. The flank of Brutus's army was now left unguarded, by the separation of the right wing, which was gone off in the pursuit; and the enemy perceiving this endeavoured to take advantage of it. They accordingly attacked it with great fury, but could make no impression on the main body, which received them with an unshaken resolution. The left wing, however, which was under the command of Cassius, soon put the rout to flight; for they were in great disorder, and knew nothing of what passed in the right wing. The enemy pursued the camp, which they plundered and destroyed,

though neither of their generals were present. Antony, ■ said, to avoid the fury of the first onset, had retired into ■ adjoining marsh ; and Caesar, who had been carried sick out of the camp, was nowhere to be found. Nay, some of the soldiers would have persuaded ■ they ■ killed Caesar, describing ■ and person, ■ ■ him their bloody swords.

The main body of Brutus's army had ■ made prodigious havoc of the enemy ; and Brutus, in his department, ■ absolutely conqueror, than Cassius ■ conquered. The want of knowing this ■ the ruin of their affairs. Brutus neglected ■ relieve Cassius, because he knew ■ that he wanted relief.

When Brutus ■ destroyed the camp of Caesar, and was returning from the pursuit, he ■ surprised that he could neither perceive the ■ of Cassius above the rest, as usual, nor any of ■ that ■ about ■ ; for they had been demolished by ■ enemy, ■ their first entering ■ camp. Some, who ■ of quicker sight than the rest, told him that they could perceive ■ motion ■ shining helmets and silver ■ in the camp of Cassius, and supposed, from their numbers and their armour, that they could not be those who ■ left to guard the camp ; though at the ■ there was not so great ■ appearance of dead bodies ■ there must have been after the defeat of ■ many legions. This gave Brutus the first suspicion of Cassius's misfortune ; and, leaving a sufficient guard in the enemy's camp, he called ■ the rest ■ the pursuit, and led them, in order, to the relief of Cassius.

The case of that general was this :—He ■ chagrined, ■ first, by the irregular conduct of Brutus's soldiers, who began the attack without waiting for the command ; and, afterwards, by their attention to plunder, whereby they neglected ■ surround and cut off ■ enemy. Thus dissatisfied, he trifled with his command ; and, for ■ of vigilance, suffered himself to ■ surrounded by the enemy's right wing ; upon which his cavalry quitted their post, and ■ towards the ■. The foot, likewise, began ■ give way ; and though he laboured ■ much ■ possible to stop their flight, and snatching an ensign from the hand of one of the fugitives, fixed it ■ his feet, yet ■ was hardly ■ keep his ■ prætorian band together ; ■ that ■ length he was obliged ■ retire, with a very small number, to ■ hill that overlooked the plain. Yet here ■ could discover nothing ; for he ■ short-sighted, and it ■ with ■ difficulty that he could perceive his ■ camp plundered. His companions, however, saw ■ large detachment of ■ which Brutus had ■ their relief, making ■ them. ■ Cassius concluded ■ be the enemy ■ were in pursuit of ■ ; notwithstanding which, he despatched Titinius ■ reconnoitre them. When the cavalry of Brutus ■ this faithful friend of Cassius approach they shouted for joy. ■ acquaintance leaped from ■ horses ■ embrace him, and the rest rode round ■ with clashing of arms, ■ all the clamorous expressions of gladness. ■ circumstance had a ■ effect. Cassius took ■ for granted, that Titinius ■ seized by the enemy, and regretted, that, through a

weak desire of life, he had ■■■ his friend to ■■■ into their hands. When ■■■ had expressed himself to this effect, he retired ■■■ empty tent, accompanied only by his freedman Pindarus, whom, ■■■ since ■■■ defeat of Crassus, he had retained for a particular purpose. In that defeat he escaped out of the hands of the Parthians ; but now, wrapping his robe about his face, he laid bare his neck, and ■■■ Pindarus to cut off his head. This ■■■ done : for ■■■ head was found severed from his body ; but whether Pindarus ■■■ it by ■■■ master's command, has been suspected ; he ■■■ ■■■ afterwards appeared. It was soon discovered who the cavalry were, and Titinius, crowned with garlands, ■■■ the place where ■■■ Cassius. When the lamentations of his friends informed him of the unhappy fate of his general, ■■■ severely reproached himself for ■■■ tardiness which had occasioned it, and ■■■ upon ■■■ sword.

Brutus, when he ■■■ assured of the defeat of Cassius, ■■■ all possible haste to his relief ; but he knew nothing of his death ■■■ ■■■ up ■■■ his camp. There he lamented over his body, and called him *the last of Romans* : intimating, that Rome would never produce another man of equal spirit. He ordered his funeral to be celebrated ■■■ Thasus, that it might not occasion any disorder in the camp. His dispersed and dejected soldiers he collected and encouraged ; and as they ■■■ been stripped of everything by the enemy, he promised them 2,000 drachmas a ■■■ This munificence at once encouraged and surprised them : they attended him ■■■ his departure with great acclamations, and complimented him ■■■ tho only general of the four who had ■■■ been beaten. Brutus was confident of victory, and the event justified that confidence : for, with a few legions, he overcame ■■■ that opposed him, and if ■■■ of his soldiers had not passed the enemy in pursuit of plunder, ■■■ battle must have been decisive in his favour. He lost 8,000 men, including the servants, whom he calls *Briges*. Messala says, he supposes the enemy lost ■■■ than twice that number. And, of course, they were more discouraged than Brutus, till Demetrius, ■■■ of Cassius, went ■■■ ■■■ Antony in the evening, and carried him his master's robe and sword, which he had taken from the dead body. This so effectually encouraged the enemy, that they ■■■ drawn up in form of battle by break of day. ■■■ camps, in the occupation of Brutus, involved him in difficulties. His own, ■■■ of prisoners, required ■■■ guard. At the same time many of the soldiers of Cassius ■■■d ■■■ their change of master, and the vanquished ■■■ naturally envious and jealous of ■■■ victors. He, therefore, thought proper ■■■ draw up his army, but not to fight.

All the slaves he had ■■■en prisoners, being found practising with ■■■ soldiers, were put ■■■ the sword : but ■■■ of the freedmen and citizens were dismissed ; and ■■■ them, ■■■ same time, that they were ■■■ truly prisoners in ■■■ hands of the enemy than ■■■ his ; ■■■ them, he said, they were slaves indeed : but with him, ■■■ and citizens of Rome. ■■■ was obliged, however, ■■■

dismiss them privately; for they had implacable enemies amongst their own men and officers. Amongst the prisoners were Volumnius, a mimic, and Saculio, a buffoon, of whom Brutus took notice, and they were brought before him, and accused continually, in their captivity, their scurrilous jests and language. Yet, taken up with some important concerns, he paid no regard to the accusation: but Messala Corvinus, of opinion, that they should be publicly whipped, and naked to the enemy, proper associates and convivial companions for such generals. Brutus entertained with the idea, and laughed; but Publius Casca, that wounded Cæsar, observed, that it was indecent to celebrate the obsequies of Cassius with jesting and laughter. "As you, Brutus," said he, "it is seen what you have for the memory of that general, when you either punished or pardoned those who ridicule and revile him." Brutus resented this expostulation, and said, "Why this business upon me, Casca? Why you what you what proper?" This answer was considered as an assent to their death; so the poor wretches were carried off and slain.

He gave the promised rewards to his soldiers; and after gently rebuking them for beginning the assault without waiting for the word of battle, he promised, that if they acquitted themselves to his satisfaction in the next engagement, he would give them up the cities of Lacedæmon and Thessalonica to plunder. This was the only circumstance in his life for which no apology can be made. For though Antony and Cæsar afterwards acted with more unbounded cruelty in rewarding their soldiers; though they deprived most of the ancient inhabitants of Italy of their lands, and gave them to those who had no title to them; yet they acted consistently with the first principle, which was the acquisition of empire and arbitrary power. Brutus maintained such a reputation for virtue, that he was neither allowed to conquer, nor to reward himself, except on the strictest principles of honour and justice; particularly since the death of Cassius, whom, if any of violence he committed, it was generally imputed. However, as sailors, when the rudder is broken in a storm, substitute some other piece of wood in its place; so though they were as well as before, do the best they can in their necessity; so Brutus, the head of so vast an army, and such important affairs, assisted by any officer that was equal to the charge, was obliged to make use of such advisers as he had; and he generally followed the counsel of those who proposed anything that might bring Cassius's soldiers to order: for these were extremely untractable; insolent in the camp, for the sake of their general, though cowardly in the field, from the remembrance of their defeat.

The soldiers of Cæsar and Antony were not in a much better condition. Provisions were scarce, and the marshy situation of the camp made it dreadfully winter. They already began to feel the inconveniences of it; for the autumnal rains had brought heavy showers, and their tents were filled with mire and water; which,

from the ■■■■■ of ■■■ weather, immediately froze. In ■■■ situation they received intelligence ■■■ their loss ■ sea.—Their fleet, which ■■■ coming ■■■ Italy ■■■ a large supply of soldiers, ■■■ by ■■■ ■■■, and so totally defeated that ■■■ who escaped ■■■ reduced by famine ■■■ eat the sails and tackle ■■■ the ships. It was ■■■ determined, ■■■ Cæsar's side, that they ■■■ to battle, ■■■ Brutus ■■■ acquainted with ■■■ success. It appears that the fight, both by sea and land, was on the same day ; but, by ■■■ accident, rather than the ■■■ of their officers, ■■■ knew nothing of his victory till twenty days after. ■■■ he ■■■ informed of it, ■■■ would never, certainly, have hazarded a second battle : for he ■■■ provisions for a considerable length of time, and his army ■■■ advantageously posted that it ■■■ from the injuries of the weather ■■■ the incursions ■■■ the enemy. Besides, knowing that he was wholly master ■■■ and partly victorious by land, he would have ■■■ everything imaginable ■■■ encourage him ; and could not ■■■ been urged to any dangerous measures by despair.

But it ■■■ that the republican form of government ■■■ no longer ■■■ subsist in Rome ; that it necessarily required a monarchy ; ■■■ that Providence, ■■■ the only man ■■■ who could oppose its destined master, kept the knowledge of that victory from him ■■■ it was too late. And yet, how near was he to receiving the intelligence ! The very evening before the engagement, ■■■ deserter, named Clodius, came over from the enemy to tell him, that Cæsar ■■■ informed of the loss of his fleet, and that this ■■■ the reason ■■■ hastening the battle. The deserter, however, ■■■ considered either ■■■ designing or ill-informed : his intelligence ■■■ disregarded, and he was not even admitted into the presence of Brutus.

That night, they say, the spectre appeared again ■■■ Brutus, and assumed ■■■ former figure, but vanished without speaking. Yet Publius Volumnius, a philosophical man, who had borne arms with Brutus during the whole war, makes ■■■ mention of this prodigy ; though he ■■■ *the first standard was covered with a swarm of bees* ; and that the ■■■ of ■■■ of the officers sweated oil of roses, which would not cease though they often wiped ■■■ He says, too, that *immediately before the battle, two eagles fought in the space between the two armies ; and that there was an ■■■ silence and attention ■■■ the field, till that on the side of Brutus was ■■■ and flew away.* The story of the Ethiopian ■■■ known, who, meeting ■■■ standard bearer opening the gate of ■■■ camp, was ■■■ pieces by the soldiers ; for *that they interpreted ■■■ an ill*

■■■ ■■■ ■■■ drawn up his army in form of battle, he pa ■■■ some time before ■■■ the word. While ■■■ was visiting the ranks, ■■■ had suspicions of some, ■■■ heard accusations ■■■ others. ■■■ cavalry ■■■ found ■■■ ardour ■■■ the attack, but seemed waiting ■■■ see what the foot ■■■ do. Besides, Camulatus, ■■■ soldier ■■■ highest estimation ■■■ valour, rode close by Brutus, ■■■ went ■■■ the enemy ■■■ his sight. This hurt him inexpress-

sibly; partly of anger, partly from further desertion treachery, he led his forces against the enemy about three in afternoon. Where he fought person he charged the enemy's wing, and, the cavalry following the impression which the foot made, put rout. when the other wing of Brutus ordered advance, inferiority of their numbers made them apprehensive that they should surrounded by the enemy. For this they extended their ranks in order to cover ground; by which means the centre of the left wing much weakened that could sustain of the enemy, but at the onset. After dispersion, the enemy surrounded Brutus, who everything that the brave and expert general could do in situation, conduct least entitled him to victory. But what seemed advantage the first engagement proved a disadvantage in the second. In the former battle, that wing of the enemy which conquered totally cut off; but of the in the conquered wing of Cassius saved. This, at the time, might appear an advantage, but it proved a prejudice. The remembrance of their former defeat filled them with terror and confusion, which they spread through the greatest part of the army.

Marcus, the of Cato, was slain fighting amidst the bravest of the young nobility. He scorned alike either to fly or to yield; but, avowing who he was, and assuming his father's name, still used his sword, till he fell upon the of the slaughtered enemy. Many other brave men, who exposed themselves for the preservation Brutus, fell at the time.

Lucilius, a man of great worth, and his intimate friend, observed barbarian horse riding speed against Brutus in particular, and determined stop them, though the hazard of his life. He, therefore, told them that he was Brutus; and they believed him, because he pretended to be afraid of Caesar, and desired to be conveyed to Antony. Exulting in their capture, and thinking themselves peculiarly fortunate, they carried him along with them by night, having previously Antony of their success, who infinitely pleased it, and came out them. Many others, likewise, they heard that Brutus brought alive, assembled him. And pitied misfortunes, while others accused him of an inglorious meanness, in suffering love of betray him into the hands of barbarians. When he approached, and Antony was deliberating what receive Brutus, Lucilius first addressed him, and, with great intrepidity, said, "Antony, be assured that Brutus neither nor will taken by an enemy. Forbid it, Heaven, that fortune should have such triumph over virtue! Whether found alive or dead, will be found in a becoming Brutus. I imposed on your soldiers, and am prepared to suffer worst you upon me." Thus spoke Lucilius, to the no small astonishment of those that present. When Antony, addressing himself those that brought him, said, "I perceive, fellow soldiers,

that you **■** **■** this imposition of Lucilius. **■** you have really got a better booty than you intended. You sought an enemy ; but you have brought **■** a friend. **■** know not how **■** should have treated Brutus, **■** you brought him alive ; but I am **■** that it is better to have such a man as Lucilius for a friend than for an enemy." When he **■** this, **■** embraced Lucilius, recommending him **■** the care of **■** of his friends ; and he **■** after found him faithful to **■** interest.

Brutus, attended by a few of his officers and friends, having passed a brook that **■** overhung with cliffs, and shaded with trees, **■** being overtaken by night, stopped in a cavity under a large rock. There, casting his eyes on the heavens, which were covered with stars, he repeated two verses, **■** of which, Volumnius **■** us, **■** **■** :—

■ **■** Jove, **■** cause of this distress.—EURIPIDES, **■**

The other, he says, had escaped his memory. Upon enumerating the several friends that had fallen before his eyes in the battle, he sighed deeply at the mention of Flavius and Labeo ; the latter of whom **■** his lieutenant, and the former master of the band of artificers. In the meanwhile one of his attendants being thirsty, and observing Brutus in the same condition, took his helmet, and went **■** the brook for water. At the same time a noise was heard on the opposite bank, and Volumnius and Dardanus the armour-bearer went to see what it was. In a short time they returned, and asked for the water: "It is **■** drank up," said Brutus, with a smile ; "but another helmet-full shall be fetched." The man who had brought the first water was therefore **■** again ; but he was wounded by the enemy, and made his escape with difficulty.

As Brutus supposed that he had not lost many **■** in the battle, Statilius undertook to make his way through the enemy (for there **■** no other way) and **■** in what condition their camp **■**. If things **■** safe there, he was **■** up a torch for a signal, and return. He got safe to the camp ; for the torch **■** up. But a long time elapsed and he **■** not return. "If Statilius **■** alive," said Brutus, "he would be here." In his return, he fell into the enemy's hands and **■** slain.

The night **■** far spent ; when Brutus, leaning his head towards his servant Clitus, whispered something in his ear. Clitus made **■** answer, but burst **■** tears. After that he took his armour-bearer Dardanus aside, and said something **■** him in private. At last, addressing himself to Volumnius in Greek, he entreated him, in memory of their common studies and exercises, **■** put his hand to his sword, and help him to give the thrust. Volumnius, as well as several others, refused ; and one of them observing that they **■** necessarily fly : "*We must fly, indeed,*" said Brutus, rising hastily, "*but not with **■** feet, but **■** hands.*" **■** then took each of them by the hand, and spoke with great appearance of cheerfulness, **■** the following purpose. "It is **■** infinite satisfaction to me, that all my friends have been

■ If I am angry with fortune, it is for the sake of ■ country. Myself I ■ more happy than the conquerors ; ■ only in respect of ■ past, ■ in my present situation. I shall leave ■ me that reputation for virtue, ■ they, ■ all ■ wealth and ■ will ■ acquire. For posterity ■ scruple ■ believe and declare, that they ■ abandoned ■ men, ■ destroyed ■ virtuous for the ■ of that empire ■ which they ■ right." After this he entreated them severally ■ provide ■ their ■ safety ; and withdrew with only ■ three of ■ intimate friends. *One of these ■ Strato, ■ whom ■ first became acquainted ■ ■ rhetoric. This friend he placed next to himself, and laying ■ of ■ part of his sword ■ ■ hands, he fell upon ■ point, and died.* Some ■ that Strato, at the earnest request of Brutus, turned ■ the sword ; upon which ■ threw himself with such violence, that, entering ■ breast, ■ passed quite through his body, and he immediately expired.

Messala, ■ friend of Brutus, after he ■ reconciled to Cæsar, took occasion to recommend Strato to his favour. "This," said he, with tears, "is the ■ who did the last kind office for my dear Brutus." Cæsar received him with kindness ; and he was ■ of those brave Greeks who afterwards attended him ■ the battle of Actium. Of Messala, it is said, ■ when Cæsar observed he had been no less zealous in his service at Actium than he had been against him at Philippi, he answered, "I have always taken the best and justest side." When Antony found the body of Brutus, he ordered ■ to be covered with the richest robe he had : and that being stolen, he put the thief to death. The ashes of ■ he sent ■ mother Servilia.

With regard ■ Porcia his wife, Nicolaus the philosopher, and Valerius Maximus,¹ tell us, that being prevented from that death she wished for, by the constant vigilance of her friends, she snatched some burning coals from the fire, and shut them close in her mouth till ■ suffocated. Notwithstanding, there ■ a letter ■ Brutus ■ friends, ■ extant, in which ■ laments the ■ of Porcia ; and complains that their neglect of her ■ have ■ her prefer ■ to the continuance of her ■ So ■ Nicolaus ■ to have been mistaken in the time, ■ least, ■ epistle ■ authentic ; for ■ describes Porcia's distemper, her conjugal affection, and the manner of her death.

¹ Valerius Maximus speaks of her fortitude on this occasion, in the highest terms. *Tuos quoque castissimos ignes. Porcia. M. Catonis filia cuncta semina deorum immortaliū prosequatur : cum cum apud Philippos siculum et interemptum virum suum Brutum cognovisset, quia for-*

sum non debitor, ardentis ore Cæsarē committere non dubitavit, muliebri spiritu virilem patris exitum imitata. Sed necesse est hoc fortis, quod ille unitato, tu non potes imitari. absumpta est. Val.

I. iv. a. 6

ANTONY.

THE grandfather of Mark Antony was Antony the orator, who ■■■■ faction of Sylla, and ■■■■ put to death by Marius.¹ ■■■■ father ■■■■ Antony, surnamed the Cretan, a man of ■■■■ figure ■■■■ consequence in ■■■■ political world,² but distinguished for his integrity, benevolence, and liberality; of which the following little circumstance ■■■■ sufficient proof. ■■■■ fortune ■■■■ large; and ■■■■ wife, therefore, very prudently ■■■■ restraint ■■■■ his munificent disposition. An acquaintance of his, who ■■■■ under some pecuniary difficulties, applied to ■■■■ for assistance. Antony, having no money ■■■■ ■■■■, ordered his boy to bring him a silver basin, full of water, under a pretence of shaving. After the boy ■■■■ dismissed, ■■■■ gave ■■■■ basin ■■■■ his friend, and bade him make what ■■■■ of ■■■■ thought proper. The disappearance of ■■■■ basin occasioned ■■■■ small commotion in ■■■■ family; and Antony finding his wife prepared ■■■■ take a severe account of the servants, begged ■■■■ pardon, and told her the truth.

His wife's name ■■■■ Julia; she was of the family of the Cæsars, and a ■■■■ of distinguished merit and modesty. Under her auspices Mark Antony received his education; when, after the death of his father, she married Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put ■■■■ death for engaging in the conspiracy of Cataline. This was the origin of that lasting enmity which subsisted between Cicero and Antony. The latter affirmed, that his mother Julia was even obliged ■■■■ beg the body of Cicero's wife for interment. But this ■■■■ not true; for ■■■■ of those who suffered ■■■■ the same occasion, under Cicero, ■■■■ refused this privilege. Antony was engaging in his person, and ■■■■ unfortunate enough ■■■■ fall into the good graces and friendship of Curio, a ■■■■ who was devoted to every species of licentiousness, and who, to render Antony the ■■■■ dependent on him, led him into ■■■■ the ■■■■ of indulging in ■■■■ and women, and ■■■■ the expenses that such indulgences ■■■■ attended with. Of course, he ■■■■ deeply involved in debt, and owed ■■■■ least two hundred and fifty talents, while he was a very young ■■■■ Curio ■■■■ bound for the payment of this money; and his father being informed of it, banished Antony from his house. Thus dismissed, ■■■■ attached himself ■■■■ Clodius, that pestilent and audacious tribune, who threw the ■■■■ into such dreadful disorder; till weary of his mad measures, and fearful of his opponents, ■■■■ passed into Greece, where ■■■■ employed himself in military exercises and ■■■■ study of eloquence. The Asiatic style³ ■■■■ then much ■■■■ vogue,

¹ Valerius Maximus says, that Antony the orator was put ■■■■ death by the joint ■■■■ of ■■■■ ■■■■. But Cicero ■■■■ Cinna as ■■■■ ■■■■ Philip I.

² Nevertheless, he conducted the war in Crete, and from thence called Cretensis.

³ Cicero, ■■■■ his Brutus, ment once two

sorts of style called the Asiatic. *Unum sententiarum et argutum, sententiis non satis gravibus et seriis quam concinnis et vinctis. Alterum sententiis non ■■■■ sententiis frequentatum quam verbis voluta, atque ineluctum; quasi nunc et Asia tota, ■■■■ summa ■■■■ orationis, etiam exornata ■■■■ genere verborum.*

Antony naturally into it ; it corresponded to his manners, which were vain, pompous, insolent, and assuming.

In Greece he received an invitation from Gabinus proconsul, to make a campaign with him in Syria.¹ This invitation he accepted, as a private man ; but being appointed to the command of the cavalry, he attended him. His operation was against Aristobulus, who had excited the Jews to revolt. He was the first who scaled the wall ; and this he did in the highest part. He drove Aristobulus from his forts ; and afterwards with a handful of men, defeated his numerous army in a pitched battle. Many of the enemy were slain, and Aristobulus his son were taken prisoners. Upon the conclusion of this war, Gabinus was solicited by Ptolemy to carry his arms into Egypt, to restore him to his kingdom.² The reward of this service was offered him in talents. Many of his officers disapproved of his expedition ; and Gabinus himself was not readily drawn into it, though the money pleaded strongly in his behalf. Antony, however, ambitious of great enterprises, and vain of gratifying a suppliant king, used every means to draw Gabinus into the service, and prevailed. It was the general opinion, that the march to Pelusium was more dangerous than the war that was to follow. For they were to pass over a sandy and unwatered country by the filthy marsh of Serbonis, whose stagnant ooze the Egyptians call the exhalations of Typhon ; though it is probably more than the drainings of the Red Sea, which is there separated from the Mediterranean only by a narrow neck of land.

Antony being ordered thither with the cavalry, not only to guard the straits, but took the large city of Pelusium, and made the garrison prisoners. By this operation he had opened a passage for the army, and a fair prospect of victory for their general. The same love of glory which was so serviceable to his party, was, on this occasion, advantageous to the enemy. For when Ptolemy entered Pelusium, in his rage of revenge, he would have put the citizens to death, but Antony resolutely opposed it, and prevented him from executing his horrid purpose. In several actions where he was concerned, he gave distinguished proofs of his conduct and valour, but especially at that place where, by wheeling about and attacking the enemy in the rear, he enabled them to be charged in front to gain a complete victory. From this action he received suitable honours and rewards.

Antony's humane treatment of the body of Archelaus, who fell in the battle, was taken notice of even by the common people. He had been his intimate friend, and connected with him in the rights of hospitality ; though he was obliged, by his duty, to oppose him in the field, he was heard that he was fallen, than his ordered search for his body, and interred it with regal magnificence. This conduct made him respected in Alexandria, and loved by the Romans.

¹ Julius Cæsar was consul in the year of Rome 635 : and the year following he was in Syria.

² L. 1.

Antony had a noble dignity in countenance, a graceful length of beard, a large forehead, an aquiline nose; and, upon the whole, the manly aspect that we see in the pictures and statues of Hercules. There was, indeed, an ancient tradition, that his family was descended from Hercules, by a son of his called Anteon; and it was no wonder if Antony sought to confirm this opinion, by affecting to resemble him in his air and his dress. Thus when he appeared in public, he girded his vest about the hips, a large sword, and over all a coarse mantle. That kind of dress which would seem disagreeable to others, rendered him the darling of the soldiers. He talked with the soldiers in a swaggering and ribbald strain—at one time drank with them in public, and would stand and take his victuals at their common table. He was pleasant on the subject of his amours, ready in assisting the intrigues of others, and easy under the raillery which he was subjected by his friends. His liberality to the soldiers and his friends was the first foundation of his advancement, and continued to support him in that power which he was otherwise weakening by a thousand irregularities. One instance of his liberality I mention: he had ordered two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas (which the Romans call *denarii*) to be given to each of his friends; his steward, who started at the extravagance of the sum, laid the silver in a heap, that he might see it all at once. He saw it and inquired what it was for; "It is the sum," answered the steward, "that you ordered for a present." Antony perceived his envious design, and, to mortify him still more, said coolly, "I really thought the sum would have made a better figure. It is little; let it be doubled."¹ This, however, was in the latter part of his life.

Rome was divided into two parties. Pompey was with the senate. The people were for bringing Cæsar with his army from Gaul. Curio, a friend of Antony, who had changed sides, and joined Cæsar, brought Antony likewise over to his interest. The influence he had obtained by his eloquence, and by that profusion of money in which he was supported by Cæsar, enabled him to make Antony tribune of the people, and afterwards augur. Antony was no less powerful than Cæsar found the advantage of his services. In the first place he opposed the consul Marcellus, whose design was to give Pompey the command of the old legions, and the power to empower him to raise new ones. On this occasion he obtained a decree, that the forces then in the field should be sent into Syria, to join Bibulus in carrying the war against the Parthians, and that they should give in their names to serve under Pompey. On another occasion, when the senate would neither receive Cæsar's letters, nor suffer them to be read, he read them by the tribunitian authority; and the requests of Cæsar appearing moderate and reasonable, by which he got many more to his interest. Two questions were at length put to the senate; one, "That Pompey should dismiss his army;" the other, "That

¹ The same story is told of Alexander.

_____ give _____ his." There were _____ a few votes _____ the former, _____ a large majority for _____ latter. Then Antony stood up, _____ and put the question, "Whether both Caesar and Pompey should _____ dismiss their armies." This motion was received with great _____ acclamations, _____ and Antony _____ applauded, and desired _____ put it to the vote. This _____ opposed by _____ consuls, the friends of Caesar made other proposals, which seemed by no _____ unreasonable : But they _____ overruled by Cato,¹ and Antony commanded by Lentulus _____ consul to leave the house. _____ left them with _____ execrations ; and disguising himself like _____ a servant, accompanied only by Quintus Cassius, he hired a carriage and _____ immediately _____ Caesar. As _____ they arrived, they exclaimed _____ nothing was conducted _____ Rome according to order _____ law, that _____ tribunes were refused the privilege of speaking, _____ whoever would rise in defence of the right must be expelled, and exposed to personal danger.

Caesar, upon this, marched his army into Italy, _____ hence _____ was observed by Cicero, in his Philippics, that Antony was _____ less _____ cause of the civil _____ in Rome, than Helen had been of the Trojan war.² There _____, however, but little truth in this assertion. Caesar was not so much a slave to the impulse of resentment as to enter on _____ desperate _____ measure, if it had not been premeditated. Nor would he have carried war into the bowels of his country, merely because he _____ Antony and Cassius flying to him in _____ dress and _____ hired carriage. At the same time, these things might give some colour to _____ commencement of those hostilities which _____ been long determined. *Caesar's motive was the same which had before driven Alexander and Cyrus over the ruins of human kind, the insatiable lust of empire, the frantic ambition of being the first _____ upon earth, which he knew he could _____ be while Pompey was yet alive.*

As soon _____ he _____ arrived at Rome, and had driven Pompey out of Italy, _____ first design _____ to attack his legions in Spain, and having _____ fleet in readiness, to _____ afterwards in pursuit of Pompey himself, while, in _____ meantime, Rome _____ the government of Lepidus the prætor, and Italy and the _____ to the command of Antony the tribune. *Antony, by the sociability of his disposition, soon made himself agreeable to the soldiers; for he _____ and _____ them, and made _____ presents to the _____ of his ability. To others, his conduct was less acceptable. _____ was too _____ attend to the cause of the injured, _____ violent and _____ impatient when _____ applied _____ on business, and infamous for _____ adulteries. In short, though there was nothing tyrannical _____ the government of Caesar, _____ rendered odious by the ill conduct of _____ friends ; and as Antony had the greatest share of*

¹ Cicero asserts, that Antony was the immediate cause of the civil war ; but if he could have laid down his pretensions, he might have discovered a more immediate

cause _____ the impolitic _____ Cato.

² In _____ second _____ Of _____ Trojan, and the _____ Pompey's _____ built ; comes postis aliquis exitu fuit.

the power, so the greatest part of the blame. Caesar, withstanding, his return from Spain, connived irregularities ; and indeed, in the military appointment he had given him, he had not judged improperly ; for *Antony was a brave, skilful, and active general.*

Cæsar embarked Brundisium, sailed Ionian with a small number of troops, and back the fleet, with orders that Antony and Gabinus should put the army on board, and proceed as possible Macedonia. Gabinus was of sea, for it winter, and the passage was dangerous. He therefore marched forces long way round by land. Antony, on the other hand, being apprehensive that Cæsar might be surrounded and by his enemies, beat off Libo, who lay anchor mouth of the haven of Brundisium. By sending several small vessels, he encompassed Libo's galleys separately, obliged them retire. By this means he found opportunity to embark about 20,000 foot and 800 horse, and with these he sail. The enemy discovered and made up him ; but he escaped by favour of a strong gale from the S., which made the sea so rough that pursuers could reach him. The same wind, however, first drove him upon a rocky shore, on which the bore so hard that there appeared no hope of escaping shipwreck ; but after a little, it turned to the S.W., and, blowing from land to the main, Antony sailed in safety, with the satisfaction of seeing the wrecks of the enemy's fleet scattered along the coast. The storm had driven their ships upon the rocks, and many of them to pieces. Antony made his advantage of this disaster ; for he took several prisoners and considerable booty. He likewise made himself of the town of Lissus ; and, by the seasonable arrival of reinforcement, the affairs of Cæsar wore a promising aspect.

Antony distinguished himself every battle that fought. Twice he stopped the army in its flight, brought them back the charge and gained the victory ; that, in point of military reputation, he inferior only to Cæsar. What opinion Cæsar of ability appeared in the decisive battle Pharsalia ; he led the right wing himself, and the Antony, the ablest of his officers. After this battle, Cæsar being appointed dictator, went in pursuit of Pompey, and sent Antony to Rome character of general of the horse. *This officer is next in power dictator, and absence he commands.* For, after election of a dictator, all other magistrates, the tribunes only cepted, divested of their authority.

Dolabella, of the tribunes, a young who of innovations, proposed a law for abolishing debts, solicited his friend Antony, who ever ready to gratify people, to join in this. On the other hand, Asinius and Trebellius dissuaded him from it. Antony opened, at his time, suspect a criminal connection between and wife, whom, account, dismissed, though cousin, daughter to Caius Antonius, had been colleague with Cicero.

consequence of this, he joined Asinius and opposed the latter's possession of the forum, with a design to change the law by force, and Antony being ordered by the senate to repel force with force, attacked him, killed several of his men, and some of his friends.

By this action he forfeited the favour of the people: but this was the only thing that rendered him obnoxious; for, of sense and virtue, as Cicero observes, could he but condemn his nocturnal revels, his extravagance, his scandalous lewdness, sleeping in the day, his walks to carry away his qualms of debauchery, and his entertainments on the marriages of players and buffoons. He said, that after drinking all night the wedding of Hippasus, a player, he was summoned in the morning to business at the forum, when, through a little much repletion, he was unfortunate enough, in the presence of the people, to return part of his evening fare by the way it had entered; and one of his friends received it in his gown. Sergius the player had the greatest interest with him; and Cytheris,¹ a lady of the same profession, had the management of his heart. She attended him in his excursions; and his equipage was by no means inferior to his mother's. The people were offended at the pomp of his travelling plate, which was more fit for the ornament of a triumph; his erecting tents on the road by groves and rivers, for the most luxurious dinners; his chariots drawn by lions; and at his lodging his pleasure and female musicians in the houses of modest and sober people. This dissatisfaction at the conduct of Antony could not but be increased by the comparative view of Cæsar. While the latter, supporting the fatigues of a military life, the former was indulging himself in all the dissipation of luxury; and, by means of his delegated power, insulting the citizens.

This conduct occasioned a variety of disturbances in Rome, and gave the soldiers an opportunity to abuse and plunder the people. Therefore, when Cæsar returned to Rome, he pardoned Dolabella; being created consul the third time, he took Lepidus, and not Antony for his colleague. Antony purchased Pompey's house; but, when he was required to make the payment, he expressed himself in very angry terms; and this he was the reason why he would not go with Cæsar into Africa. His former services he thought insufficiently repaid. Cæsar, however, by his disapprobation of Antony's conduct, sought to have thrown upon him the restraint of his dissolute manner of life. He now took to himself a second wife, and made choice of Fulvia, the widow of the seditious Clodius, a woman by no means adapted to domestic employments, but contented with ruling her husband in private. Fulvia's ambition was to govern those that governed, and to command the leaders of armies. She was to Fulvia, therefore, Cleopatra was a model for teaching Antony due submission to female authority. She had attained through such a course a dis-

cipline as made ■ perfectly ■ ■ ■ into ■ hands.

He endeavoured, however, to ■ the violent spirit of ■ by many whimsical and pleasant ■ When Cæsar, ■ ■ Spain, was on his return to Rome, Antony, amongst others, went ■ him ; but a report prevailing that Cæsar ■ killed, and that ■ enemy was marching into Italy, he returned immediately ■ Rome, and, in the disguise of a slave, ■ his house by night, pretending that ■ letters from Antony ■ Fulvia. ■ introduced to her with his head muffled up ; and, before ■ received the letter, she asked, with impatience, ■ Antony were well. ■ presented the letter to her in silence ; and, while she ■ opening it, he threw his arms around her neck and kissed her. We ■ this ■ instance out of many of ■ pleasures.

When Cæsar returned from Spain, ■ of the principal citizens ■ some days journey to meet him ; but Antony ■ the most distinguished reception, and had the honour to ride with Cæsar in the ■ chariot. After them ■ Brutus Albinus, and Octavius, the ■ of Cæsar's sister, who ■ afterwards called Augustus Cæsar, and for many years ■ emperor of Rome. Cæsar being created consul for ■ time, chose Antony for his colleague ; but ■ he intended to quit the consulship in ■ of Dolabella, he acquainted the senate with his resolution. Antony, notwithstanding, opposed this measure, and loaded Dolabella with the most flagrant reproaches. Dolabella did not fail to ■ the abuse ; and Cæsar, offended at their indecent behaviour, put off the affair till another time. When it was again proposed, Antony insisted that the omens from the flight of birds ■ against the measure.¹ Thus Cæsar ■ obliged to give up Dolabella, ■ was not a little mortified at his disappointment. It appears, however, that Cæsar had ■ little regard for Dolabella ■ he had for Antony ; for when both ■ accused of designs against him, he ■ temptuously enough, "It is not these flat sleek fellows I am afraid of, but the pale and the lean ;" by which he ■ Brutus and Cassius, who afterwards put him to death. Antony, without intending it, gave them a pretence for that undertaking : ■ the Romans ■ celebrating the Lupercales, Cæsar, in ■ triumphal habit, ■ on ■ rostrum to see the ■ On this occasion many of the young nobility ■d the magistracy, anointed with oil, and having white thongs in their hands, run about and strike, ■ in sport, every one they meet : Antony was of ■ number, ■ regardless ■ the ceremonies of the institution, he took a garland ■ laurel, and wreathing it in a diadem, ran ■ rostrum, where, ■g lifted up by his companions, he would have placed ■ on head of Cæsar, intimating thereby the conveyance ■ regal power. Cæsar, however, ■ decline the offer, and was therefore applauded by ■ people. Antony persisted in ■ design ; and ■

¹ He had this power by virtue of his office as augur.

some there a contest between them, while that offered
 a dilemma to the applause of his friends, and that it
 the acclamations of the multitude. Thus, what is singular enough,
 while the Romans everything that regal power could impose,
 they dreaded the name of king, a destructive of their liberty.
 Caesar much concerned at this transaction; and, uncovering
 his neck, offered it to any that would take it. At
 length the tribunes placed one of his statues, which the tri-
 bunes took it off; upon which the people threatened them
 with great acclamations. Afterwards, however, Caesar showed
 that he resented this, by turning those tribunes out of office. The
 enterprise of Brutus and Cassius derived strength and encourage-
 ment from these circumstances. To the opinion of their friends,
 whom they had selected for the purpose, they wanted to draw over
 Antony. Trebonius only objected to him; he informed them that
 their journey to Caesar, he had been generally with him;
 and he sounded them on this business by hints, which, though
 cautious, were intelligible; and that he always expressed his dis-
 approbation, though he never betrayed his secret. Upon this it
 was proposed that Antony should fall at the same time with Caesar;
 but Brutus opposed it. An action undertaken in support of justice
 and the laws, he very properly thought, should have nothing unjust
 attending it. Of Antony, however, they were afraid, both in
 respect of his personal valour, and the influence of his office; and
 it was agreed, that when Caesar was in the house, and they were
 on the point of executing their purpose, Antony should be amused
 without by some pretended discourse of business.

When, in consequence of these measures, Caesar was slain,
 Antony absconded in the disguise of a slave; but after he found
 that the conspirators were assembled in the Capitol, and had
 further designs of massacre, he invited them to come down, and
 made them to them his hostage. That night Cassius supped
 him, and Brutus with Lepidus. The day following he assembled
 the senate, when he proposed that an act of amnesty should
 pass; and that provinces should be assigned to Brutus and
 Cassius. The senate confirmed this, and, at the same time, ratified
 the death of Caesar. Thus Antony acquitted himself in
 with the highest reputation; and, by saving Rome from a
 civil war, he proved himself a very able and valuable politician.
 The intoxication of glory drew him off from these wise
 moderate counsels: and, from his influence over the people, he felt
 that if Brutus were borne down, he should be the first man
 in Rome. With this view, when Caesar's body was exposed
 for funeral, he undertook the customary funeral oration; and
 when he found the people affected with the encomiums of the
 deceased, he endeavoured more to excite their compassion, by

1 Tribuni plebis, Spulius Murellus,
 Flavius corona jacebat detracto,
 hominemque vincula junxerant,
 etc.

mentionem, etc. et ferbat, sibi
 gloriam recitandi, tribum graviter
 increpato potestate præsidi. Et. xx.

all that pitiable or aggravating in the For this purpose, in close of his oration, took the robe from the dead body, held it up to them, bloody as it was, and pierced through with weapons; did he hesitate, at the time, call perpetrators of deed villains murderers. This had such an effect upon the people that they immediately up benches and the tables in forum, pile for the body. After they had duly larged the funeral rites, they snatched the burning from pile, and went attack the houses of the spirators.

Brutus and party now the city, and Caesar's friends joined Antony. Calphurnia, relict of Caesar, entrusted him with her treasure, which amounted to 4,000 talents. All Caesar's papers, which contained a particular of designs, likewise delivered up him. Of these he made a very ingenious for, by inserting in them what he thought proper, he made of his friends magistrates, and others senators; recalled from exile, and others he dismissed from prison, pretence that all these things were ordered by Caesar. The people that thus favoured, the Romans called *Charonites*;¹ because, to support their title, they had to the registers of the dead. The power of Antony, in short, absolute: he was consul himself, his brother Caius was praetor, and his brother Lucius tribune of the people.

Such was the state of affairs when Octavius, who was the son of Caesar's sister, and appointed his heir by will, arrived at Rome from Apollonia, where he resided when his uncle killed. He first visited Antony the friend of his uncle, and spoke him concerning the money in his hands, and the legacy 75 drachmas left every Roman citizen. Antony paid little regard to him first; and him, it would be made an inexperienced young man, without friends, take upon an important office that of being executor Caesar.

Octavius, however, not thus repulsed; he insisted the money; and Antony, on other hand, everything mortify and affront him. opposed him in application the tribuneship; and when he made of the golden chair, which had been granted by the his uncle,² he threatened, unless desisted solicit the people, he would commit him prison. But when Octavius joined Cicero and the of Antony's enemies, and by their obtained interest in senate; when he continued pay his court to the people, and drew the soldiers from the quarters, Antony thought time to accommodate; and for this purpose gave a meeting in Capitol.

¹ The slaves, who were enfranchised by the last will of their masters, were likewise called *Charonites*.

² The senate had decreed to Caesar the

privilege of using a golden chair, adorned with a crown of gold and precious stones, in all the theatres. *Dion. l. xlv.*

accommodation took place, but it was destroyed, the night Antony dreamed that his right ear was thunderstruck ; in a few days after he was informed that Octavius had a design on him. The latter would have justified himself, but he believed, that, of course, his breach became as great as his. They immediately over Italy, and endeavoured to be beforehand with each other, in securing, by rewards and promises, the troops in the quarters, and such legions as were at foot.

Cicero, who had considerable influence in the city, incensed the people against Antony, and prevailed on the senate to declare him a public enemy ; to send the rods and the rest of the prætorial ensigns to young Cæsar, and to commission Hirtius and Pansa, consuls, to drive Antony out of Italy. The senate engaged Modena; and Cæsar was present at the battle. Both the consuls were killed ; but Antony was defeated ; in his flight he reduced great extremities, particularly by famine. Distress, however, was to him, a school of moral improvement ; and Antony, in adversity, was almost equal to the best of virtue. Indeed it is for men under misfortunes to have a clear idea of their duty ; but a change of conduct is always the consequence. On such occasions they too often fall back into their former errors, through the inactivity of reason, and infirmity of mind. But Antony was even patient for his soldiers. From all the varieties of luxurious living, he came with readiness to drink stinking water, and to feed on the fruits and roots of the desert. Nay, it is said, that they ate the very bark of the trees ; and, that in passing the Alps, they fed on creatures that had never been accounted human food.

Antony's design was to join Lepidus, who commanded the army on the other side of the Alps ; and he had a reasonable prospect of his friendship, from the good offices he had done him with Julius Cæsar. When he was within a small distance of him he encamped ; but receiving no encouragement, he resolved to march all upon a single cast. His hair was uncombed, and his beard, which he had shaven since his defeat, was long. In this forlorn figure, with a mourning mantle thrown over him, he came to the camp of Lepidus, and addressed himself to the soldiers. While some were affected with his appearance, and others with his eloquence, Lepidus, afraid of the consequence, ordered his trumpets to sound, so that he might no longer be heard. This, however, contributed to heighten the compassion of the soldiers ; so that they followed Lælius and Clodius in the dress of those who hired themselves to favour the army, to assure Antony, that if he had resolution enough to attack the camp of Lepidus, he should find with many who were not only ready to receive him, but, if he desired it, to follow Lepidus. Antony would have suffered violence from Lepidus ; but the day following, he crossed the river which lay between the two camps, and the satisfaction of Lepidus's soldiers all was

stretching their hands to him, making way through the entrenchments.

When he had possessed himself of the camp of Lepidus, he treated him with great humanity. He saluted him by name of father; though, in reality, everything was in his own power, he secured him the title and the honours of general. This conduct brought Munatius Plancus, who was the head of a considerable force, no great distance. Thus Antony once more very powerful, and returned into Italy with 17 entire legions of foot, and 10,000 horse. Besides these, he left six legions as a garrison in Gaul, under the command of Varius, one of his convivial companions, whom they called *Cotylon*.¹

Octavius, when he found that Cicero's object was the liberties of the commonwealth, abandoned him, and sought accommodation with Antony. They came together with Lepidus, in a small river island,² where the conference lasted three days. *The empire of the world was divided amongst them like a paternal inheritance; and this they found no difficulty in settling.* But whom they should kill, and whom they should spare, it was not so easy to adjust, while each was for saving his respective friends, and putting to death his enemies. At length their resentment against the latter overcame their kindness for the former. *Octavius gave up Cicero to Antony; and Antony sacrificed his uncle Lucius Cæsar to Octavius; while Lepidus had the privilege of putting to death his brother Paulus.* Though others say, that Lepidus gave up Paulus to them,³ though they had required him to put him to death himself. I believe there was anything as atrocious, or as execrably as this commerce of murder; for while a friend was given up for an enemy received, the same action murdered once the friend and the enemy; and the destruction of the former was still more horrible, because it was not even resentment for an apology.

When this confederacy had taken place, the army desired might be confirmed by an alliance; and Cæsar, therefore, was married to Claudia, daughter of Fulvia, Antony's wife. As soon as they determined, they marked down such as they intended to put to death; the number of which amounted to three hundred. When Cicero was present, Antony ordered his head, and his hand which wrote his Philippics, to be cut off; when they presented him, he laughed, and exulted at the sight. After he was with looking upon them, he ordered them to be placed on the *rostra* in the forum. But this insult on the dead was, in fact, an abuse of his own good fortune, and of the power it had placed in his hands.⁴ When his uncle Lucius Cæsar was pursued by

¹ From a half pint bumper; a Greek measure so called.

² In the *Ilione*, not far from *Bologna*.

³ The former *Enfin* translator ought not to have omitted this because it is least the least the

of Lepidus, who was certainly the least execrable villain of the three.

⁴ Were there any circumstances in Antony's life that could be considered an instance of true magnanimity, the total want of that virtue in this case would prove that such a circumstance was merely accidental.

murderers he [] for refuge to his sister ; and when the pursuers had broken into the house, [] forcing their way into [] chamber, she placed herself [] the door, and, stretching forth her hands, she cried, " You shall not kill Lucius Cæsar till you have first killed me, the [] of your general." By this means she saved her brother.

The triumvirate [] very odious to the Romans ; but Antony bore the greater blame ; for he was not only older than Cæsar, and [] powerful than Lepidus, but, when he [] longer under difficulties, [] back into the former irregularities of [] life. [] abandoned and dissolute [] the [] obnoxious [] the people by [] living in the house of Pompey [] Great, a man no [] distinguished by his temperance and modesty, than by [] honour of [] triumphs. They were mortified [] see these doors shut [] insolence against magistrates, generals, and ambassadors ; [] they were open [] players, jugglers, [] sottish sycophants, on whom he spent the greatest part of those [] he [] amassed by rapine. Indeed, the triumvirate were by no means scrupulous about the manner in which they procured their wealth. They seized and sold the estates of those who had been proscribed, and, by false accusations, defrauded their widows and orphans. They burdened the people with insupportable impositions ; and being informed that *large sums of money, the property* [] *of strangers and citizens,* [] *deposited in the hands of the vassals,* they took them away by violence. When Cæsar found that Antony's [] [] boundless as his prodigality, he demanded a division of the treasure. The army too [] divided. Antony and Cæsar went into Macedonia against Brutus and Cassius ; and the government of Rome [] left to Lepidus.

When they [] encamped in sight of the enemy, Antony opposite [] Cassius, and Cæsar to Brutus, Cæsar effected nothing extraordinary, but Antony's efforts [] still successful. In the [] engagement Cæsar was defeated by Brutus ; his camp [] taken ; and he narrowly escaped by flight, though, in [] Commentaries, he tells us, that, on account of a dream which happened to one of [] friends, [] withdrawn before the battle. Cassius [] defeated by Antony ; and yet there [] those, too, who say, that Antony [] present [] battle, but [] joined in [] pursuit afterwards. As Cassius knew nothing of [] success of Brutus, [] killed at his own [] entreaty by [] freedman Pindarus. Another battle was fought [] after, in which Brutus was defeated ; and, in consequence of that, slew himself. Cæsar happened, [] that time, [] be sick, and [] honour of this victory, likewise, [] [] Antony. As he stood over the body of Brutus, he slightly reproached him [] death [] Caius, whom, [] revenge for the death of Cicero, Brutus [] slain in Macedonia. It appeared, however, that Antony did [] impute [] death of Caius so much to [] Hortensius ; [] latter [] be slain upon his brother's tomb. []

purple robe over the body of Brutus, and ordered one of his freedmen ■ do ■ honours of his funeral. When he was afterwards informed, that ■ not burned the robe ■ the body, and that he ■ tained part of the money which was to be expended on the ceremony, ■ commanded him ■ be slain. After this victory Cæsar was conveyed to Rome; and it was expected that his distemper would put an end to his life. Antony having traversed ■ of the provinces of Asia for the purpose of raising money, passed with ■ large army into Greece. Contributions, indeed, ■ absolutely necessary, when a gratuity of 5,000 drachmas had been promised ■ every private ■.

Antony's behaviour ■ first very acceptable ■ Grecians. He ■ disputes of their logicians, their public diversions, and religious ceremonies. He ■ mild in the administration of justice, and affected to ■ called the friend of Greece; but particularly the ■ of Athens, ■ which he made considerable presents. The Megarensians vying with the Athenians in exhibiting ■ thing curious, invited him ■ ■ their senate-house, and when they asked him how he liked it, he told them it was little and ruinous. He took the dimensions of the temple of Apollo Pythius, as if he had intended to repair it; and, indeed, he promised as much to the senate.

But when, leaving Lucius Censorinus in Greece, he ■ passed into Asia; when he ■ enriched himself with the wealth of the country; when his house was the resort of obsequious kings, and queens contended for his favour by their beauty and munificence; then, whilst Cæsar was harassed with seditions at Rome, Antony once ■ gave up his soul to luxury, and fell into all the dissipations of his former life. The Anaxenores and the Zuthi, the harpers and pipers, Metrodorus the dancer, the whole corps of the Asiatic drama who far outdid in buffoonery the poor wretches ■ Italy; these ■ the people of the court, the folks that carried all before them. In short, all was riot and disorder. And Asia, in ■ measure, resembled the city mentioned by Sophocles (Ed. Sc. 1.), that ■ ■ filled with the perfumes of sacrifices, ■ and groans.

When Antony entered Ephesus, the ■ in the dress of Bacchanals, ■ and boys habited like Pan and the satyrs, marched before him. Nothing was to be ■ through the whole city but ivy crowns, and spears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and pipes, while Antony was hailed by the ■ of Bacchus.

—“Bacchus! over kind and free!”

And such, indeed ■ was ■ some; but to others ■ ■ savage and ■. He deprived many noble families of their fortunes, and bestowed them ■ sycophants and parasites. Many ■ represented ■ be dead, who were still living: and commissions were given ■ his knaves for seizing their estates. He gave ■ cook the ■ of ■ Mænesian citizen for dressing one supper to ■ taste: but when ■ ■ ■ impost ■ Asia, Hybrias, the

agent for the people, told him, with a pleasantness that was agreeable to his humour, "If he levied the taxes, he ought to supply the seasons too, and supply the people with two winters." He added, at the same time, with a little asperity, that he had already raised 200,000 talents, if he had not received it, he would demand it of those who had; but," said he, "if you received it yet have it not, we are undone." This touched him sensibly; he was ignorant of many things that he transacted with authority; not that he was indolent, or unsuspecting, or that he was a simplicity in his nature without much penetration. When he found his faults had been committed, he expressed the greatest contrition and acknowledgment to the sufferers. He was prodigal in his rewards, and liberal in his punishments; but the former rather in the former than in the latter. The insulting raillery of his conversation carried its remedy along with it; for he was perfectly liberal in allowing the retort, and he took the same good humour. This, however, was the effect of his affairs. He imagined that those who treated him with freedom in conversation would be insincere in business. He did not perceive that his sycophants were artful in their freedom; that they used it as a kind of poignant sauce to prevent the satiety of flattery; and that, by taking these liberties with him at table, they well, that they complied with his opinions in business, he would think it the effect of complaisance, but a conviction of his superior judgment.

Such was the frail, the flexible Antony, when the love of Cleopatra came into the completion of his ruin. This awakened every dormant vice, inflamed every guilty passion, and totally extinguished the gleams of remaining virtue. When he first set out on his expedition against the Parthians, he sent orders to Cleopatra to stay in Cilicia, that she might answer his accusations which had been laid against her of assisting Cassius in his rebellion. Dellius, on his message, so observed the beauty and address of Cleopatra, than he concluded that such a woman, far from having anything to apprehend from the resentment of Antony, would certainly have great influence on him. He therefore paid his respects to the Egyptian, and solicited her to go, in her best attire, into Cilicia; assuring her, that she had nothing to fear from Antony, who was a courtly gentleman in the world. Induced by his invitation, and in the confidence of her beauty which had before touched the hearts of Cæsar and young Pompey, she entertained no doubt of the conquest of Antony. When Cæsar and Pompey had her favours, she was young and inexperienced; but she was in Antony an old beauty, in him a perfection, called in the maturity of the understanding to his aid. Prepared, therefore, with such ornaments, presents, were suitable to the dignity and

* Uom. II. xiv. l. 108. It is then that Juno proposes to meet Jupiter, when she

has a particular design of inspiring him with love.

affluence of her kingdom, chiefly relying on her personal charms, she set off for Cilicia.

Though she had received many pressing letters of invitation from Antony his friends she held him such contempt that she by no means took the expeditious method of travelling. She sailed along the river Cydnus in a most magnificent galley. The stern covered with gold, the sails of purple, and the silver. These, in their motion, kept time to music of flutes, and pipes and harps. The queen, in the dress and character of Venus, lay under a canopy embroidered gold, of most exquisite workmanship, while boys, painted cupids, stood fanning her each side of the sofa. Her maids of the most distinguished beauty, and, habited like the Nereids and Graces, assisted in the steering and conduct of the vessel. The fragrance of burning incense diffused along the shores, which covered multitudes of people. Some followed the procession, and such numbers went down from the city to it, that Antony was at last left alone on the tribunal. A banquet spread, that Venus went to feast with Bacchus, for the benefit of Asia. Antony sent to invite her to supper; but she thought it his duty to wait upon her, and, to show his politeness her arrival, he complied. He was astonished at the magnificence of the preparations; but particularly at that multitude of lights, which were raised or let down together, and disposed in such a variety of square and circular figures, that they formed one of the most pleasing spectacles that has been recorded in history. The day following Antony invited her to sup with him, and was ambitious to outdo her in the elegance and magnificence of the entertainment. But he soon convinced that he was short of her in both, and was the first to ridicule the extravagance and vulgarity of his treat. As he found that Antony's humour savoured more of the rustic than of the court, she fell into the same vein, and played upon him without least success. Such was the variety of her powers of conversation: her beauty, it is said, was neither astonishing nor inimitable; it derived a force from her wit, and her fascinating manner, which was absolutely irresistible. Her voice was delightfully melodious, and had a most agreeable variety of modulation in the instrument of many strings. She spoke most languages; and there were but few of the foreign ambassadors whom she answered by an interpreter. She gave audience herself to the Ethiopians, the Troglodites, the Hebrews, Arabs, Syrians, Medes, and Parthians. Nor were these all the languages she understood, though the kings of Egypt, her predecessors, could hardly ever attain to the Egyptian; and some of them forgot their original Macedonian.

Antony was wholly engrossed with her charms that while Fulvia was maintaining interest at Rome against Cæsar, and the Parthian forces, under the conduct of Labienus in Mesopotamia, ready to enter Syria, she was her amorous captive in triumph at Alexandria. There the warrior

into every [] of puerile amusement, and [] shrine of luxury what Antipho calls the greatest of all sacrifices, [] sacrifice of time. This mode of [] they [] the *inimitable*. They visited each other alternately every day ; and the profusion [] their entertainments is almost incredible. Philotas, a physician [] Amphissa, who [] at that time pursuing [] studies in Alexandria, told my grandfather Lamprias, that being acquainted with [] of Antony's cooks, he was invited to [] preparations for supper. When he came into the kitchen, beside an infinite variety of other provisions, [] observed eight wild boars roasting whole ; and expressed [] surprise [] the number of [] company for whom [] provision must have been made. The cook laughed, and said, that the company [] not exceed twelve : but [] every dish was to be roasted to a single turn, and [] Antony was uncertain [] to the time when he would sup, particularly if [] extraordinary bottle, or [] extraordinary vein [] conversation [] going round, it [] necessary [] have a succession of suppers. Philotas added, that being afterwards in the service of Antony's eldest son by Fulvia, he was admitted to sup with him, when [] did not sup with his father ; and it once happened that, when another physician [] table had tired the company with his noise and impertinence, he silenced [] with the following sophism : *There are some degrees of a fever in which cold water is good for a man ; every man, who has a fever, has it in some degree ; and, therefore, cold water is good for every man in a fever.* The impertinent man [] struck dumb with this syllogism ; and Antony's son, who laughed [] his distress, [] reward Philotas for his good offices, pointing to [] magnificent side-board of plate, said, "All that, Philotas, [] yours !" Philotas acknowledged the kind offer ; but thought it [] much for such a boy to give. And, afterwards, when a servant brought the plate [] him in a chest, that he might put [] seal [] it, he refused, and indeed, [] afraid to accept it : upon which [] said, "What [] you [] of ? Do [] you consider that [] a present from the son of Antony, who could easily give you [] weight in gold ? However, I would recommend [] you to take the value of [] in money. In this plate there may be [] curious pieces of ancient workmanship that Antony [] a value [] [] the anecdotes which [] grandfather told me [] had from Philotas.

Cleopatra [] limited to Plato's (Gorgias) four [] of flattery. [] infinite variety of it. Whether Antony [] in the [] the serious humour, [] [] had something ready for [] *She was with him night and day ; she gamed, she drank, she hunted, she reviewed with him.* [] his night rambles, when he was reconnoitering the doors and windows [] citizens, [] throwing out [] jests upon them, she attended him [] of a servant, which [] also [] such occasions affected to [] From these expeditions [] frequently returned a sufferer [] person [] character. But though some of the Alexandrians were displeased [] whimsical humour, others enjoyed it, [] said,

"That Antony presented his comic parts in Alexandria and served *tragic* for Rome." To mention all his follies, would be trifling ; but his fishing story *must* not be omitted. *He* a fishing one day *Cleopatra*, and had ill success, which, in the presence of his mistress, he looked upon as a disgrace ; he, therefore, ordered *some* of his assistants to dive and put *his* hook such as had been taken before. This scheme he put in practice three or four times, and *Cleopatra* perceived it. She affected, however, *to* be surprised at his success ; expressed her wonder *at* the people about her ; and, *the* day following, invited them to *fresh* proofs of it. When the day following came, the vessel *was* crowded with people ; and as *soon* as Antony had let down his line, she ordered one of her divers immediately to put *a* salt fish *in* his hook. When Antony found *that* *he* caught his fish, he drew up his line ; and this, as may be supposed, occasioned *a* small mirth amongst *the* spectators. "Go, general !" said *Cleopatra*, "leave fishing to the petty princes of Pharus and Canopus ; your game is cities, kingdoms, and pro-

In the midst of these scenes of festivity and dissipation, Antony received two unfavourable messages ; *one* from Rome, that his wife Fulvia, and his brother Lucius, after long dissensions between themselves, had joined to oppose Cæsar, but were overpowered, and obliged to fly out of Italy. The other informed him, that Labienus and the Parthians had reduced Asia from Syria and the Euphrates *to* Lydia and Ionia. *He* was with difficulty that even this roused him from his lethargy : but waking at length, and literally waking from a fit of intoxication, he set out against the Parthians, and proceeded as far as Phœnicia. However, upon the receipt of some very moving letters from Fulvia, he turned his course towards Italy with *some* ships. Such of his friends *as* had fled from thence, he received ; and from these he learned, that Fulvia had been the principal cause of the disturbances in Rome. Her disposition had a natural tendency to violence and discord ; and, *on* this occasion, it *was* abetted by jealousy ; for she expected that the disorders of Italy would call Antony from *the* *arms* of *Cleopatra*. That unhappy woman died at Sydon, in her progress *to* meet her husband.

This event opened *a* opportunity for *a* reconciliation with Cæsar. For when Antony *returned* to Italy, and Cæsar expressed *displeasure* against him, but threw the whole blame on Fulvia, their respective friends interfered, and brought them to *a* *moderate* commodation. The east, within the boundaries of the Ionian *seas* given to Antony ; the western provinces *to* Cæsar ; and Lepidus had Africa. When they did not accept of the consulship themselves, they were *to* dispose *of* it as they thought proper, *and* their *business*

After *the* *business* were settled, they thought of means to

This expression is Cleopatra's her own self-appraisal. "Mortuus" is "dead" with that To "imperio populo, Romano," "to the empire of the Roman people."

secure which fortune had set on foot. Caesar had a older than Octavia, but they mothers. The mother of Octavia Ancaria. Caesar's mother was Attia. He had a great affection for this sister; for she was a extraordinary merit. She been already married; Caius Marcellus; but a little before this had buried her husband; and Antony lost wife, there an opening for a union. His connection with Cleopatra he affect to deny; but absolutely denied that he was married her: and, in this circumstance, indeed, his prudence prevailed his love. His marriage Octavia universally wished. the general hope, of her beauty and distinguished virtues would acquire influence Antony, might, in end, salutary to the state. Conditions being mutually agreed upon, they proceeded solemnise nuptials Rome: and law permits widow to marry till the expiration of months after decease of her husband was dispensed with by the

Sextus, the of Pompey, who then in possession of Sicily, had only made great ravages in Italy, but had covered the sea with such a number of piratical vessels, under the command of Menas and Menecrates, that it was no longer safe for other ships to pass. He had been favourable, notwithstanding, to Antony; for he had given a kind reception his mother and his Fulvia, when they were obliged to fly from Rome. It judged proper, therefore, accommodate matters with him; and, for purpose, a meeting was the promontory of Misenum by the mole that runs into the Pompey attended by his fleet; Antony and Caesar by an army of foot. At this interview it settled, Pompey should keep Sicily and Sardinia, on condition that he should clear the sea of pirates, and send a certain quantity of Rome. When these things determined, they mutually invited each other to supper; but it to the of Pompey to give the entertainment. When Antony asked him where they should sup: "There," said he, pointing admiral-galley of six that is the only patrimonial mansion-house that is left to Pompey:" and implied at the time, a Antony, who then in possession of his father's house. However, he entertained them very politely, after conducting over a bridge from promontory to the ship that rode anchor. ing entertainment, while the raillery briskly on Antony and Cleopatra, Menas to Pompey, and told him secretly, that, if he would permit him to cut the cable, would only of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman are. Pompey, after a moment's deliberation, answered, that should have done it without consulting him. "We now alone," he, "for I cannot break my oath of treaty." The compliment of entertainment was returned by guests, and then retired Sicily.

Antony, the accommodation, Ventidius Asia, stop progress of the Parthians. All of public

conducted the greatest harmony him Octavius ; and, in compliment to the latter, he took upon the office of high priest of Caesar the dictator. But, in their play, Caesar was generally superior, Antony mortified. He had in his house a fortune-telling gipsy, who in the calculation of nativities. This man, either oblige Cleopatra, or following the investigation of truth, told Antony, that the of his fortune, however glorious in itself, was eclipsed and obscured by Caesar's, advised him, by all means, to keep the greatest distance from that young "The genius of your life," said he, "is afraid of his ; when alone, its port and fearless ; when his approaches, it is dejected and depressed." Indeed, there were many circumstances seemed justify the conjuror's doctrine : for in every kind of play, whether they lots, or cast the die, Antony still the loser. *In their cock-fights and quail-fights, it still Caesar's cock and Caesar's quail.* These things co-operating with the conjuror's observations, had such effect on Antony that he gave up management of his domestic affairs to Caesar, and left Italy. Octavia, who had by this time brought him a daughter, he took with him into Greece. He wintered in Athens, and there he learned that his affairs in Asia, under Ventidius, successful ; that the Parthians routed, and that Labienus and Pharnap-, the ablest generals of Orodes, fell in the battle. In honour of this victory he gave an entertainment to the Greeks, and treated the Athenians with an exhibition of the gymnastic in which he took the master's part himself. The robes and ensigns of the general laid aside ; the rods, the cloak, and the slippers the Gymnasiarch were assumed ; and when the combatants had fought sufficiently, he parted them himself.

he went to the war, he took with him of the sacred olive ; and by the direction of some oracle or other, a vessel of water filled out of the Clepsydra.¹ In the meantime, Pacoras, of king of Parthia, made an incursion into Syria, but routed by Ventidius in Cyrrhestica, and with greatest part of his army, fell in the battle. This celebrated victory made ample amends for the defeat of Crassus. The Parthians now been thrice conquered, and confined within the bounds and Mesopotamia. Ventidius would pursue the Parthians any farther, fear of exciting the envy of Antony ; he, therefore, turned his against the revoltors, and brought them back their duty. Amongst these Antiochus, the king of Commagene, whom he besieged in the city Samosata. That prince first offered to pay 1,000 talents, and submit self to the Roman empire ; upon which Ventidius told him, must proposals to Antony ; for distance ; and he had not commissioned Ventidius

¹ The Clepsydra was a fountain belonging to the citadel at Athens ; no earlier,

sometimes full of empty.

peas with Antiochus, something least might by himself. But while the siege prolonged and people of Samosata despaired of obtaining terms, that despair produced degree of courage which every effort of the besiegers; and Antony last reduced to the disgraceful necessity of accepting 300 talents.

After he done towards settling Syria, returned Athens, and Ventidius to Rome, enjoy the reward of his merit in a triumph. was only general that triumphed the Parthians. birth obscure, but with Antony brought him into great appointment, and, by making the best use of them, confirmed what of Antony and Octavius Cæsar, that they successful by their lieutenants, when they commanded in person. This observation, with regard to Antony particular, might be by success of Sossius and Canidius. The former had done great things in Syria, and the latter, whom he Armenia, reduced the whole country; and, after defeating the kings of Iberia and Albania, penetrated far as Mount Caucasus, and spread the terror of Antony's name and power through those barbarous nations.

Soon after this, upon hearing some dimmable reports concerning the designs the conduct of Cæsar, he sailed for Italy with a of 300 ships; and, being refused the harbour of Brundisium, he made for Tarentum. There he was prevailed on by his wife Octavia, who accompanied him, and then pregnant a third time, send her to her brother; and she was fortunate enough to meet him on her journey, attended by his two friends, Marcenas and Agrippa. In conference with him, she entreated him consider the peculiarity of her situation, and not to make the happiest woman in the world the unfortunate. "The eyes of all," said she, "are necessarily turned me, who the wife of Antony, and sister of Cæsar; and should these chiefs of the empire, misled by hasty counsels, involve the whole in war, whatever may be the event, it will unhappy for me." Cæsar softened by the treaties of his sister, and proceeded with peaceable views Tarentum. His arrival afforded a general satisfaction to people. They were pleased such army shore, and such a fleet in harbour, in the mutual disposition peace; and thing but compliments and expressions of kindness passing between generals. Antony first invited Cæsar sup with him, and in compliment to Octavia, he accepted invitation. At length agreed, that Cæsar should give up to Antony legions for Parthian service; and that Antony, in return, leave armed galleys Cæsar. Octavia, moreover, engaged Antony give up 20 light ships to Cæsar, and procured from her brother 1,000 foot her husband. Matters being thus accommodated, Cæsar to war with Pompey for the recovery of Sicily; and Antony, leaving under protection his wife his children, by present former marriage, sailed for Asia.

Upon his approach to Syria, the love of Cleopatra, which had so long been dormant in his heart, which better counsels totally have suppressed, revived again, and took possession of his soul. The unruly steed, to which Plato¹ compares certain passions, broke loose, in spite of honour, interest, and prudence, Antony Fontcius Capito to conduct Cleopatra to Syria.

Upon his arrival he made her the magnificent presents. He gave her the provinces of Phœnicia, Cœlosyria, Cyprus, great part of Cilicia, the district of Judæa which produces the balm, and part of Arabia Nabathæa which lies upon the Tiber. These extravagant gifts disagreeable to the Romans; for, though he often conferred private persons considerable governments and kingdoms; though he had deprived many princes of their dominions, and beheaded Antigonus of Judæa, the first king that ever suffered in such a manner;² yet nothing so much disturbed the Romans as his profusion in favour of that king. Nor were they less offended at his giving the surnames of sun and moon to the twins he had by her.

But Antony knew well how to give a fair appearance to the disreputable actions. The greatness of the Roman empire, he said, appeared more in giving than in receiving kingdoms; and that it was proper for persons of high birth and station to extend and secure their nobility, by leaving children and successors born of different princes; that his ancestor Hercules trusted not to the fertility of one woman, if he had feared the penalties annexed to the law of Solon; but, by various connections with the sex, became the founder of many families.

After Orodes was slain by his son Phraates³ who took possession of the kingdom, many of the Parthian chiefs fled to Antony; and amongst the Moneus, a man of great dignity and power. Antony thinking that Moneus, in his fortune, resembled Themistocles, and comparing his wealth and magnificence to that of the kings of Persia, gave him three cities, Larissa, Arcthusa, and Hierampolis, which were before called Bombyce. But when Phraates sent Moneus of safety, he readily dismissed him. On this occasion he formed a scheme to deceive Phraates: he pretended a disposition for peace, and required only that the Roman standards and ensigns which had been taken at the defeat of Crassus, and such of the prisoners who survived, might be restored. Cleopatra into Egypt; after which he marched through Arabia and Armenia, where, as he went, his troops joined by the allies, he reviewed his army. He

1 Here alludes to Plato, where he compares the soul to a winged chariot, with two horses and a charioteer. One of these horses is unruly and ungly: the other gentle. The charioteer is Reason: the unruly horse is concupis-

cent, and the tractable horse the irascible part. PLATO, *Phæd.*

2 Dion tells us that Antigonus was first tied to a stake and whipped; and that afterwards his throat was cut.

3 The same Moneus that Strabo mentions, *Βαβυλῶν ὁ ἑστὶς τοῦ Φάρμακτος* Lib. II. c. 2.

several princes in alliance with him, but Artavasdes, king of Armenia, was ■■■■■ powerful; for he furnished 6,000 horse, and 7,000 foot. At this review there appeared 60,000 Roman foot, and 10,000 horse, who, though chiefly Gauls and Spaniards, were ■■■■■ as Romans. The number of the allies, including the light ■■■■■ and the cavalry, amounted to ■■■■■.

This formidable armament, which struck terror into ■■■■■ beyond Bactria, ■■■■■ alarmed all Asia, his attachment to Cleopatra rendered perfectly useless. His impatience ■■■■■ spend ■■■■■ winter in her arms, made him take the field ■■■■■ early ■■■■■ the ■■■■■ and precipitated ■■■■■ his measures. As a man who ■■■■■ under ■■■■■ power of enchantment, ■■■■■ only ■■■■■ the impulse of ■■■■■ magic directs him, ■■■■■ eye was continually drawn to Cleopatra, and to return to her was a greater object ■■■■■ to conquer the world. ■■■■■ ought certainly ■■■■■ have wintered in Armenia, ■■■■■ he might give a proper respite ■■■■■ refreshment to ■■■■■ men, after ■■■■■ of 1,000 miles. In the early part of the spring, ■■■■■ should have made himself master of Media, before the Parthian troops were drawn ■■■■■ of garrison; but ■■■■■ impatience put him upon the march, and leaving Armenia on the left, he passed through the province of Atropatene, and laid waste the country. In his haste, he left behind him the battering engines, amongst which ■■■■■ a ram ■■■■■ feet long, and these followed ■■■■■ on 300 carriages; had any damage happened ■■■■■ these, it would have ■■■■■ impossible ■■■■■ repair them in this upper part of Asia, where there is ■■■■■ timber of height or strength sufficient for the purpose. However, they ■■■■■ brought after him under the conduct of ■■■■■; and in the ■■■■■ time, he laid siege to the large city of Phraata, the residence of the king ■■■■■ Media's wives ■■■■■ children. Here he perceived ■■■■■ in leaving the engines behind; for want of which he ■■■■■ obliged to throw up ■■■■■ against the wall, and that required considerable time and labour.

In ■■■■■ mean time, Phraates ■■■■■ up with a ■■■■■ army, and being informed that Antony had left behind him ■■■■■ machines, ■■■■■ a large detachment ■■■■■ intercept them. This party fell upon Statianus, who, with 10,000 of his men, ■■■■■ upon ■■■■■ spot. Many were taken prisoners, among whom was king Polemo; and the machines were seized by the enemy and destroyed.

This miscarriage greatly discouraged the army; ■■■■■ Artavasdes, though he ■■■■■ been the promoter of the war, withdrew his ■■■■■ in despair. The Parthians, on ■■■■■ other hand, encouraged by their success, came up with the Romans while they ■■■■■ employed ■■■■■ siege, and treated them with the most insolent menaces and ■■■■■ tempt. Antony, who knew ■■■■■ despair ■■■■■ timidity would ■■■■■ consequence of inaction, ■■■■■ out ten legions, three prætorian cohorts heavy armed, and the whole body of cavalry, on the business of foraging. ■■■■■ was persuaded, at the same time, that this was the only method of drawing the enemy after him, and bringing them ■■■■■ ■■■■■. After one day's progress, ■■■■■ observed ■■■■■ motion, ■■■■■ an opportunity ■■■■■ upon him

in ■■ march. Hereupon he put up in ■■ camp the signal ■■ battle ; but, at ■■ same time, struck his tents, as if his intention ■■ not to fight but ■■ retire. Accordingly ■■ passed ■■ army of ■■ barbarians, which was drawn ■■ in form of a ■■■■ : but ■■ previously given orders ■■ the horse to charge ■■ enemy, full ■■ as ■■ their ranks ■■ within reach of the legionary troops. The Parthians ■■ struck with astonishment ■■ the order of the Roman army, when they observed them ■■ regular intervals without confusion, and brandish their pikes in silence.

■■■ signal ■■ given for battle, the horse turned short, and fell with loud shouts ■■ the enemy. The Parthians received the attack with firmness, though they ■■ too close in with them ■■ the ■■ of their bows. But when the infantry ■■ ■■ charge, their shouts, and the clashing of their arms, so frightened the enemy's horses, ■■ they ■■ no longer manageable ; ■■ Parthians ■■ without ■■ engaging. Antony pursued closely, in hopes that this action would, in ■■ great measure, terminate the ■■ when the infantry had ■■ them 50 furlongs, and the cavalry ■■ least 150, he found that he had ■■ slain above 80 of the enemy, and that 30 only were taken prisoners. Thus, the little advantage of their victories, and the heavy loss of their defeats, as in the recent instance of the carriages, was ■■ fresh discouragement to the Romans.

The day following ■■ returned with their baggage to the camp before Phraata. In their march they ■■ with ■■ straggling troops of the enemy, afterwards with greater parties, and ■■ last with the whole body, which, having easily rallied, appeared like a fresh army, and harassed ■■ in such ■■ manner, that it was with difficulty they reached their camp.

The Median garrison, in the absence of Antony, had made a sally ; and those who ■■ left to defend the mount, had quitted their post, and fled. Antony, at ■■ return, punished the fugitives by decimation. That is, he divided them into tens ; and, ■■ each division, put ■■ to death, on whom the lot happened ■■ fall. Those that escaped had their allowance in barley instead of wheat.

■■■ parties ■■ found their difficulties in the ■■ Antony ■■ the dread of famine before him, for he could not forage without ■■ terrible slaughter of his men ; and Phraates, who knew the temper of the Parthians, ■■ apprehensive, that, if the Romans persisted in carrying ■■ siege, ■■ as the autumnal equinox ■■ passed, and the winter ■■ in, ■■ should be deserted by ■■ army, which would ■■ that time endure the open field. To prevent this, he had ■■ stratagem. He ordered ■■ officers ■■ pursue the ■■ too close when they ■■ foraging, but ■■ permit them ■■ carry ■■ provisions. ■■ commanded them, ■■ same time, ■■ compliment them on their valour ; and ■■ express his high opinion of ■■ Roman bravery. They ■■ instructed, likewise, ■■ opportunity might offer, to blame the obstinacy ■■ Antony, which exposed many brave ■■ to the severities of ■■ and a winter campaign, who must suffer ■■ course, notwithstanding all ■■

Parthians could do for them, Phraates sought for nothing more than [] though he [] still [] in [] benevolent in-

Antony, [] these reports, began [] conceive hope; but [] offer any terms before he was satisfied whether they came originally from the king. The enemy assured him [] such [] the sentiments of Phraates; and, being induced [] believe them, [] [] of his friends to demand the standards and the prisoners that [] into their hands [] the defeat [] Crassus; [] he thought, if he demanded nothing, it might appear that [] pleased with [] privilege of retreating. The Parthian answered, [] the [] and prisoners could not be restored; but that Antony, if he thought proper, was at liberty [] in safety.

After [] few days had been spent in making up [] baggage, he began his march. On this occasion, though he [] the happiest eloquence in addressing his soldiers, and reconciling them [] every situation and event; yet, whether [] was through shame, or sorrow, or both, he left that office to Domitius Enobarbus. Some of them [] offended at this as an act of contempt; but the greater part understood the cause, and pitying their general paid him still greater attention.

Antony had determined to take his route through a plain and open country; but [] certain Mardian, who was well acquainted with the practices of [] Parthians, and [] approved his faith to the Romans at the battle when the machines were lost, advised him to [] the [] [] his right, and [] to expose his heavy-armed troops in an open country to the attacks of the Parthian bowmen and cavalry. Phraates, he said, amused him with fair promises, merely to draw him off from the siege; but if he would take him for his guide, he would conduct him by [] way that [] nearer, and better furnished with necessaries. Antony deliberated some time upon this. He would not appear to doubt the honour of the Parthians after the truce they had agreed to; and yet, [] could [] but approve of a way which was nearer, and which lay through an inhabited country. At last, he required the necessary pledges of the Mardian's faith, which [] gave in suffering himself to [] bound till [] should have conducted the army into Armenia. In this condition he led the Romans peaceably along [] days; but [] third, when Antony, expecting nothing less than the Parthians, was marching forward [] disorderly security, the Mardian, observing the mounds of a river broken down, and the [] let [] into the plain where they [] pass, concluded that the Parthians had done this [] retard their march, and advised Antony [] be [] his guard; [] the enemy, he said, was at [] great distance. Whilst Antony [] drawing up his [] and preparing such of them as [] armed with darts and slings [] make a sally against the enemy, the Parthians [] upon him, and by surrounding his army, harassed it on every part. The light-armed Romans, indeed, made [] incursion upon them, and, galling them with their missive weapons, obliged them [] []; but they soon []

charge, till a band of the Gaulish cavalry attacked and dispersed them ; so that they appeared no more that day.

Antony, upon this, found measures he was to take, and covering his wings and the such troops as were armed with missile weapons, his army in the form of a square. The cavalry had orders to repel the attacks of the enemy, but to pursue to great distance. The Parthians, of course, in four successive days they could make no considerable impression, but themselves equally annoyed in their turn, grew more remiss, and, finding it in winter season, began to think of a retreat. On the fifth day, Flavius Gallus, a general officer of great courage and valour, requested Antony, that he would indulge him with a number of light-armed troops from the rear, together with a few horse from the front ; and with these he proposed to perform some considerable exploit. These he obtained, and, in repelling the attacks of the Parthians, not, like the rest, retreat by degrees towards the body of the army, but maintained his ground and fought rather on the offensive than on the defensive. When the officers of the rear observed that he separated from the rest, they sent to recall him, but he did not obey the summons. It is said, however, that Titius the quaestor turned back the standard, and inveighed against Gallus for leading many brave men to destruction. Gallus, on the other hand, returned his reproaches, and commanding those who were about him to stand, made his retreat alone. Gallus had no sooner made an impression on the enemy's front than he was surrounded. In this distress he sought for assistance : and here the general officers, and Canidius, the favourite of Antony, amongst the rest, committed a capital error. Instead of leading the whole army against the Parthians, soon as one detachment was empowered, they sent another to its support ; and thus, by degrees, they would have sacrificed great part of the troops, had Antony come hastily from the front with the heavy-armed, and urging on the third legion through the midst of the fugitives, stopped the enemy's pursuit.

In this action no fewer than 3,000 were slain, and 5,000 brought back wounded to the camp. Amongst the last was Gallus, who had four wounds shot through his body, and after died of his wounds. Antony visited those that had suffered on this unhappy occasion, and consoled them with tears of real grief and affection : while the wounded soldiers, embracing the hand of their general, entreated him not to attend to their sufferings, but to their health and quiet : "*our general is safe, all,*" said they, "*is well.*" It is certain that there was not in those days a braver or a finer army. The soldiers were tall, stout, able, and willing to endure the greatest toils. Their respect and ready obedience to their general was wonderful. Not a man in his army, from the first officer to the meanest soldier, would have preferred his favour of Antony to his own life and safety. In all these respects they were at least equal to the ancient Romans. A variety of

concurrent produce Antony's noble birth, his eloquence, candour, liberality and magnificence, the pliancy of his conversation. These were the general cause of the affection he found in his army; and, on particular occasion, his sympathising with the wounded, attending wants, made them totally forget their sufferings.

The Parthians, who had before begun languish in their operations, much elevated this advantage, held Romans in such contempt, that they spent night by camp, hopes of seizing the baggage while they looted their camp. At of day numbers more up, the amount, it is said, of 40,000 horse: for Parthian king even his body-guard, confident was he of absolute victory; himself, he never was present at any engagement.

Antony being to address his soldiers, called mourning apparel, speech might be more affecting; but friends would permit this, he appeared in his general's robe. Those that had been victorious he praised, those who had fled he reproached; the former encouraged him by every testimony of their zeal; the latter, offering themselves either decimation any other kind of punishment that he might think proper to inflict upon them, entreated him forego sorrow and concern. Upon this raised his hands heaven, and prayed to the gods, "That if his happier fortune be followed by future evil, it might affect only himself, and that his army might be and victorious."

The day following they marched out in better order, and Parthians, who thought they had nothing to do but plunder, when they their enemy in fresh spirits and in a capacity for renewing the engagement, were extremely disconcerted. However, they fell upon the Romans from the adjacent declivities and galled them with their as they marching slowly forward. Against these attacks light-armed troops covered by the legionaries, who placing knee upon the ground, received the their shields. The rank that behind covered that which before in a regular gradation; so that this curious fortification, which defended them from the of the enemy, resembled the roof of a house.

The Parthians, who thought the Romans rested on their only through weariness and fatigue, threw away their bows, and came to close engagement with their spears. Upon this the Romans leaped up with a loud shout, cut pieces those who came first to the attack, and put all the rest to flight. This method of attack being repeated every day, they made but little progress their march, and were, besides, distressed for want of provisions; they could forage without fighting; the they could get but little, and that they had not instruments grind. The greatest part of them had left behind; for many of their of burden dead, employed in carrying wounded. It is of wheat, Attic measure, for 50 drachmas, and a barley loaf for weight

in silver. Those who sought for roots and pot [] they had [] accustomed to eat, [] tasting unknown herbs, they met with [] brought on madness [] death. [] that had eaten of [] immediately [] all memory [] knowledge ; but, [] time, would busy himself in turning and moving every [] he met with, as if he was upon some very important pursuit. The camp [] full of unhappy men bending to the ground, [] digging up and removing stones, [] last they [] carried [] by [] bilious vomiting ; [] wine,¹ the only remedy, [] be had. Thus, while numbers perished, and the Parthians [] continued to harass them, Antony [] said frequently [] have cried out, " [] thousand ! " alluding [] the army that Xenophon [] from Babylon, both [] longer way,² [] through [] conflicts, and yet led [] safety.

The Parthians, when they found that they could not break through [] Roman ranks, nor throw them into disorder, [] frequently beaten in their attacks, began [] their foragers in a peaceable []. They showed them their bows unstrung, and informed them that they had given up the pursuit, and were going to depart. A few Medes, they said, might continue the route [] day or [] longer, but they would give the Romans no trouble, [] their only purpose was to protect [] of the remoter villages. These professions were accompanied with many kind salutations ; inasmuch that the Romans conceived fresh hopes and spirits ; and, because the way over the mountains [] said [] be destitute of water, Antony once more was desirous of taking [] through the plains. [] was going to put this [] in execution, one Mithridates, cousin to that Monesus who had formerly sought his protection, and being presented by him with three cities, [] from the enemy's camp, and desired he might be permitted [] speak with some person that understood the Syrian or the Parthian language. Alexander of Antioch, [] friend of Antony's, [] out to him, and after the Parthian had informed [] who [] was, and attributing his coming [] the kindness of Monesus, [] asked him, whether he did [] see at a great distance [] him a range of high []. " Under those hills," said he, " the whole Parthian army lies in ambuscade for you : for [] foot of the mountains there is a spacious plain, and there, when, [] by their artifices, you have left [] way [] the heights, they expect [] you. In the mountain roads, indeed, you have thirst and toil [] contend with as usual ; but, should Antony [] the plains, he [] expect the fate of Crassus."

After [] given [] information [] departed, and Antony [] the occasion [] a council, [] amongst the rest [] Mardian

¹ The ancients held wine to be a principal remedy against vomiting. *Prescrip. vomitionis suffit.*—*Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xiii. c. 1.*

² It was likely esteemed good against many kinds of poison. *Marcellus, ad*

contra cicuta, asclepias et omnia que refrigerant remedium. Ibid.

³ When Plutarch says that Xenophon led his 10,000 a longer way, he must mean to terminate Antony's march with Armenia.

guide, [] concurred [] [] directions of [] Parthian. The way [] [] plains, [] said, was hardly practicable, [] there no enemy [] contend with, [] windings were long [] tedious, [] [] [] [] [] The rugged way [] the mountains, on [] contrary, [] [] difficulty in [] [] endure thirst for one day. Antony, therefore, changed his mind, and ordering each [] [] take [] along with him, took [] mountain [] by night. As there [] [] a sufficient number of vessels, some conveyed [] water [] helmets, and others in bladders.

The Parthians [] informed of Antony's motions, and, contrary to custom, pursued [] in the night. About sunrise they [] with the rear, weary [] it was with toil and watching; for that night they had travelled 30 miles. In this condition they had [] contend with [] unexpected enemy, and being [] [] obliged [] fight and continue their march, their thirst became [] more insupportable. At last the front came up to a river, the [] of which [] cool and clear, but being salt and acrimonious, it occasioned a pain [] the stomach and bowels that had been heated and inflamed with thirst. The Mardian guide had, indeed, forewarned them of this, but the poor fellows rejecting the information that was brought them, drank eagerly of the [] Antony, running amongst the ranks, entreated them to forbear but a little. He told [] that there [] another river [] no great distance, the water of which might be drank with safety; [] that the way was so extremely rocky and uneven, that it was impossible for the enemy's cavalry to pursue. At the same time he sounded a retreat to call off such [] [] engaged with the enemy, and gave the signal for pitching their tents, that they might at least have the convenience of shade.

While their [] [] fixing, and the Parthians, as usual, retiring [] the pursuit, Mithridates [] again, and Alexander being [] out [] him, he advised [] the Romans, after a little rest, should rise and make for the river, because the Parthians [] not propose to carry their pursuit beyond it. Alexander reported this to Antony, and Mithridates being presented with as many phials and cups of gold [] he could [] deal in his garments, [] [] the camp. Antony, while it was yet day, struck his tents, and marched, unmolested by the enemy. [] [] *dreadful a night as followed he had never passed.* Those who [] known [] be possessed of gold or silver were [] and plundered, and [] [] that was conveyed in the baggage was made a prey of. Last of all, Antony's baggage [] seized, and the richest bowls and tables [] asunder and divided amongst the plunderers. The greatest [] and distraction [] through [] whole army, for it [] concluded [] inroads of the enemy [] occasioned [] flight and confusion. Antony [] for one of his freedmen [] Rhamnus, [] [] him [] that he would stab him and cut [] his head, whenever [] should command him, that he might neither [] [] the hands of the enemy, nor be known when [] [] his [] were weeping around him, the Mardian guide gave him

some encouragement, by telling him that the river ■■■ hand, as ■■■ could perceive by the cool freshness of the air that issued from it, and that, of course, the troubles of his journey would ■■■ be ■■■ an end, ■■■ the night nearly was. At the ■■■ time he ■■■ informed that all these disorders ■■■ been occasioned by the ■■■ of the soldiers, and he therefore ordered the signal for encamping, that he might rectify his disordered army.¹

It ■■■ daylight, and ■■■ the troops ■■■ brought ■■■ a ■■■ order, the Parthians ■■■ more began to harass the ■■■. The signal ■■■ therefore given to ■■■ light troops to engage, and the heavy armed received the arrows ■■■ a roof of shields ■■■ before. The Parthians, however, durst ■■■ any more ■■■ close engagement, and when the front had advanced ■■■ little farther, the river ■■■ in sight. Antony first drew up the cavalry on the bank ■■■ carry ■■■ the weak and wounded. The combat ■■■ over, and the thirsty could enjoy their water in quiet. At sight of ■■■ river the Parthians unstrung their bows, and, with the highest ■■■ comiums ■■■ their bravery, bade their enemies pass ■■■ in ■■■. They did so, and after the necessary refreshments, proceeded ■■■ their march, without much confidence in the Parthian praise ■■■ professions. Within six days from the last battle they arrived ■■■ the river Araxes, which divides ■■■ from Armenia. This river, on account of the depth and strength of its current, seemed difficult to pass, and a rumour, moreover, ran through the army that the enemy ■■■ there in ambuscade, to attack them as they forded it. However *they passed over in safety, and when they set foot in Armenia, with the avidity of mariners when they first come on shore, they kissed the ground in adoration, and embraced each other with ■■■ pleasures that could only express itself in tears.* The ill consequences of their former extremities, however, discovered themselves even here ; for ■■■ they ■■■ passed through a country of plenty and profusion, their too great indulgences threw them into the dropsy and the colic. Antony, on reviewing his army, found that ■■■ had lost 20,000 foot and 4,000 horse, more than half of which had ■■■ in battle, but by sickness. They had been 27 days in their ■■■ from Phraatæ, and had beaten the Parthians in 18 engagements : but these victories ■■■ by ■■■ complete, because they could not prosecute their advantages by pursuit.

Hence it is evident that Artavasdes deprived Antony ■■■ the fruits of his Parthian expedition ; for had he been assisted by the 10,000 horse which he took with him out of Media, who ■■■ armed like ■■■ Parthians, and accustomed to fight with them, after the Romans

1 ■■■ in this place appear ■■■ sufficiently informed. The ■■■ of ■■■ army could not be the aversion of the soldiers only, since that might have operated long before, and at a time when they were capable of enjoying money. Their ■■■ now was ■■■ preservation of life ; ■■■ was not ■■■

wanted. We must look for the cause of this disorder then to some other circumstance ; and that probably was the report of their general's despair, or possibly of his death ; for otherwise, they would hardly have plundered his baggage. The ■■■ and affection they had ■■■ all ■■■ distresses, afford a ■■■ at argument on this behalf.

had in set battles, this cavalry might have the pursuit, harassed them in a manner, they could not have rallied and returned to the charge. All, therefore, exciting Antony to revenge himself on Artavasdes, followed better counsels, and in his present weak and indigent condition, not think proper to withhold the usual respect honours he had paid him. But when into Armenia on another occasion, having drawn a meeting by promises invitations, he seized and carried him bound Alexandria, where in triumphal procession. The Romans were this triumph and Antony, who had transferred principal honours of their country Egypt, for the gratification Cleopatra. These things, however, happened in a later period of Antony's life.

The severity of the winter and perpetual were so destructive troops, that in his march he lost 8,000 men. Accompanied by a small party he went down to the sea-coast, and in a between Berytus and Sidon, the *White Hair*, he waited Cleopatra. To divert his impatience on her delay, he to festivity and intoxication; and he would frequently, his cups, up from his seat, and run leaping and dancing look for her approach. At length she came, and brought with her a large quantity of money and clothing for the army. Some, however, have asserted, she brought nothing but the clothes, and that Antony supplied the money, though he gave her credit of it.

There happened this time a quarrel between Phraates the king of the Medes, occasioned, as it is said, by the division the Roman spoils, and the latter was apprehensive of losing his kingdom. therefore sent to Antony an offer of his assistance against the Parthians. Antony, who concluded that he had of conquering Parthians only through of cavalry and bowmen, and would here seem rather to confer to receive a favour, determined return Armenia, and, after joining the king of the Medes at the river Araxes, renew the

Octavia, who was still at Rome, now expressed a desire of visiting Antony, and Caesar gave him his permission, according to the general opinion, merely to oblige her, but that ill and neglect which concluded should with might give him a pretence for renewing the war. When arrived Athens she received letters from Antony, commanding her continue there, acquainting her with his expedition. These letters mortified her, for suspected expedition nothing than a pretence; however, she wrote to him, and desired would commands where leave the presents brought. These presents consisted of clothing the army, besides of burden, money, and gifts for his officers friends. Besides these, brought picked men, fully equipped armed general's cohort. Octavia this by Niger,

friend [REDACTED] Antony's, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] not fail to pay her [REDACTED] compliments she deserved, [REDACTED] represented her to Antony [REDACTED] [REDACTED] agreeable light.

Cleopatra dreaded her rival. She [REDACTED] apprehensive [REDACTED] [REDACTED] came [REDACTED] Antony, [REDACTED] respectable gravity of his manners, added [REDACTED] the authority [REDACTED] interest of Cæsar, would carry off [REDACTED] husband. [REDACTED] therefore pretended to be dying for [REDACTED] love of Antony, and [REDACTED] give [REDACTED] colour to her pretence, she emaciated herself by abstinence. At [REDACTED] approach she taught her eye to express an agreeable surprise, [REDACTED] when [REDACTED] her, she put on the look of languishment [REDACTED] dejection. Sometimes [REDACTED] [REDACTED] endeavour [REDACTED] weep, [REDACTED] then, [REDACTED] if she [REDACTED] [REDACTED] hide the [REDACTED] from her tender Antony, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] to wipe them off unseen.

Antony was, all this while, preparing for his Med[REDACTED] expedition, [REDACTED] Cleopatra's creatures and dependants [REDACTED] [REDACTED] reproach his unfeeling heart, which could suffer the woman whose [REDACTED] [REDACTED] wrapped up in his [REDACTED] die for his sake. Octavia's marriage, they said, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] political convenience, and it [REDACTED] enough for her that [REDACTED] [REDACTED] the honour of being called his wife. Poor Cleopatra, though queen of a mighty nation, was called nothing more than his mistress: yet [REDACTED] with this, for the sake of his society, she could be content: but of that society, whenever she should be deprived, it would deprive her of life. These insinuations [REDACTED] totally unmanned him, that, through fear of Cleopatra's putting [REDACTED] end to her life, he returned [REDACTED] Egypt, and put off the Med[REDACTED] till summer, though [REDACTED] that time the Parthian affairs were said to be in [REDACTED] seditious and disorderly situation. At length, however, he went into Armenia, and after entering into an alliance with the Med[REDACTED], and betrothing one of Cleopatra's sons to a daughter of [REDACTED] who was very young, returned, that he might attend to the civil [REDACTED].

When Octavia returned from Athens, Cæsar looked upon the [REDACTED] she had met with [REDACTED] mark of the greatest contempt, and he therefore ordered her to retire and live alone. However, [REDACTED] refused [REDACTED] quit her husband's house, and [REDACTED] entreated Cæsar by no [REDACTED] [REDACTED] have [REDACTED] [REDACTED] to arms merely on [REDACTED] [REDACTED] would [REDACTED] infamous, she said, [REDACTED] the two chiefs of [REDACTED] Roman empire [REDACTED] involve the people in a civil war, [REDACTED] for the love of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] the other [REDACTED] of jealousy. By her own conduct, she added weight to her expostulations. She kept up [REDACTED] dignity of Antony's house, and took the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] children, [REDACTED] well those [REDACTED] [REDACTED] had by Fulvia as her own, that she could possibly have taken, had he been present. Antony's friends, who [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Rome [REDACTED] solicit honours or transact business, she kindly [REDACTED] tained, and used her best offices with Cæsar [REDACTED] obtain what they requested. Yet [REDACTED] by his conduct she was hurting Antony, contrary [REDACTED] [REDACTED] inclination. [REDACTED] injurious [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] a woman excited [REDACTED] general indignation; [REDACTED] [REDACTED] distribution [REDACTED] had made [REDACTED] his [REDACTED] in Alexandria, carried with [REDACTED] something so imperious and so disparaging [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Romans, that it increased that indigna- [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]. The manner of doing it [REDACTED] extremely obnoxious.

summoned the people to the place of public exercise, ordering golden chairs to be placed on a tribunal of silver, for himself, and the other for Cleopatra, beside lower the children, he announced her queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Africa, Coelosyria, nominated Cæsario, her by Cæsar the dictator, her colleague. The sons she had by him he entitled kings of kings, and Alexander he gave Armenia, Media, together with Parthia, when should be conquered. To Ptolemy he gave Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia. At the time the children made their appearance, Alexander in a Median dress, with the turban and tiara; and Ptolemy in the long cloak and slippers, with a bonnet encircled by a diadem. The latter dressed like the of Alexander; former like the Median and Armenian kings. When children saluted their parents, was attended by Armenian, the other by Macedonian guards. Cleopatra, and on other public occasions, wore the sacred robe of Isis,¹ and affected to give audience to the people in the character and name of the *New Isis*.

Cæsar expatiated on these things in the senate, and by frequent accusations, incensed the people against Antony. Antony did not fall to recriminate by his deputies. In the first place he charged Cæsar with wresting Sicily out of the hands of Pompey, and not dividing it with him. His next charge was, that Cæsar had never returned the ships he had borrowed of him; a third, that after reducing his colleague Lepidus to the condition of a private man, had taken to himself his army, his province, and tributes; lastly, that had distributed almost all the in Italy among his soldiers, and had left nothing for his. To these Cæsar made answer, that Lepidus reduced an incapacity of sustaining his government; what he had acquired by he was ready to divide with Antony, and the same time expected to share Armenia with; that his soldiers had right lands in Italy, because Media and Armenia, which by their bravery they had added to the Roman empire, had been allotted to them.

Antony being informed of these things in Armenia, immediately Canidius to the with sixteen legions. In meantime to Ephesus by Cleopatra. There assembled his fleet, which consisted of ships of burden, whereof Cleopatra furnished 200, beside 20,000 talents, provisions army. Antony, by advice of Domitius and some other friends, ordered Cleopatra to Egypt, and there to wait of. But the queen, apprehensive that a reconciliation might place, through the mediation of Octavia, by large drew over Canidius to her interest. prevailed him to represent to Antony, that unreasonable to refuse powerful an auxiliary the privilege of being present to war; that presence was necessary to animate

¹ This robe was of all colours, to signify the universality of the goddess' influence. The robe of Isis was of one colour only.

Egyptians, who made a considerable part of the naval force; Cleopatra, in point of abilities, inferior to any of the princes allied; since she had only been a long time at the head of a considerable kingdom, but by her intercourse with the administration of the greatest monarch. These remonstrances, the Fates had decreed everything Caesar, had the effect, they sailed together for Samos, where they indulged in every species of luxury. For at the same time that the kings, governors, states, and provinces, between Syria, Moesia, Armenia and Laus, commanded to send their contributions to the war, the whole tribe of players and musicians were ordered to repair to Samos; and while almost the whole world beside was venting its anguish in groans and tears, this island alone was piping and dancing. The several cities offered oxen for sacrifice, kings contended in the magnificence of their presents and entertainments; so that it was natural to say, "What kind of figure these people make in their triumph, when their very preparations for war are so splendid!"

When these things were over, he gave Priene for the residence of the players and musicians, and sailed for Athens, where he renewed the farce of public entertainments. The Athenians had treated Octavia, when she was at Athens, with the highest respect; and Cleopatra, jealous of the honours she had received, endeavoured to court the people by every mark of favour. The people in Athens decreed her public honours, and sent a deputation to wait on her with the decree. At the head of this deputation Antony himself, in character as a citizen of Athens, and he prolocutor on the occasion.

In the meantime he sent some of his people to turn Octavia out of his house at Rome. When she left it, it is said she took with her all his children (except the eldest by Fulvia, who attended him), and deplored the severity of her fate with tears, under the apprehension that she would be looked upon as one of the causes of civil war. The Romans pitied her sufferings, but still blamed the folly of Antony, particularly such as he had shown to Cleopatra; for she was by no means preferable to Octavia, either in respect of youth or beauty.

Caesar was informed of the celerity and magnificence of Antony's preparations, and of being forced into the war that would have been very inconvenient for him, he was in want of almost everything, the levies of money occasioned a general dissatisfaction. The whole body of the people were taxed one-fourth of their income, the freedmen one-eighth. This occasioned the greatest clamour and confusion in Italy, and Antony certainly committed a very great oversight in neglecting the advantage. By an unaccountable

1 As a mountain of no note in Africa does not seem proper to be mentioned with Egypt and provinces it is supposed that we ought to read Illyria,

instead of Euxia. Illyria is afterwards mentioned as the boundary of Antony's

delays he gave Caesar an opportunity both to complete his preparations, and appease the minds of the people. When the money was demanded they murmured and mutinied; but after it was once paid, they thought of it no longer.

Titius and Plancus, men of consular dignity, and Antony's principal friends, being ill-used by Cleopatra, and opposing her stay in the army, abandoned him and over to Caesar. As they knew the contents of Antony's will, they presently made him acquainted with them. This will was lodged in the house of a vestal; when Caesar demanded it, they refused to send it; adding that he was determined to take it, he took it himself. Accordingly he read it, and first of all he read it over to himself, and remarked such passages as were most liable to censure. Afterwards he read it in the senate, and then gave a general offence.¹ It seemed to the greatest part an absurd and unprecedented thing that a man should suffer his life, for what he ordered to be done after his death. Caesar dwelt particularly on the orders he had given concerning his funeral; for in case he died at Rome, he had directed his body to be carried in procession through the forum, and afterwards conveyed to Alexandria to Cleopatra. Calvisius, a retainer of Caesar's, also accused him of having given to Cleopatra the Pergamian library which consisted of 200,000 volumes; and added, that once, when they supped in public, Antony rose and trod Cleopatra's foot by way of signal for some rendezvous. He asserted, moreover, that he suffered the Ephesians in his presence to call Cleopatra *seign*; and that when he was presiding in the administration of public affairs, attended by several tetrarchs and kings, he received love-letters from her enclosed in onyx and crystal, which there perused them. Besides, when Furnius, a man of great dignity, and one of the ablest of the Roman orators, was speaking in public, Cleopatra was carried through the forum in a litter; upon which Antony immediately started up, and no longer paying attention to his cause, accompanied her, leaning on the arm as he walked.

The veracity of Calvisius, in his accusations, was, nevertheless, suspected. The friends of Antony solicited the people on his behalf, and despatched Geminius, one of their number, to put him on his guard against the abrogation of his power and his being declared enemy to the Roman people. Geminius sailed to Greece, and, on his arrival, was suspected by Cleopatra as an agent of Octavia's. On this account he was contemptuously treated, and the lowest seats were assigned him at public suppers. This, however, he bore for some time with patience, in hopes of obtaining an interview with Antony: but being publicly called upon to declare the cause of his coming, he answered, "That part of my business which requires to be communicated in a sober hour,

¹ This was an act of most injurious violence. It could be more sacred

than a will, in the eyes of the vestals.

but the other part could not be mistaken, whether a man drunk or sober : for it was clear that things go well, if Cleopatra retired into Egypt." Antony extremely chagrined ; Cleopatra said, " You have done very well, Geminius, confess without being put to torture." Geminius soon after withdrew, and returned Rome. Many of Antony's friends were driven off by insolence of Cleopatra when they could no longer endure her insolence. Amongst rest were Marcus Silanus, and Delius the historian. The latter informs us, that Cleopatra made a design upon his life, by Glaucus physician ; because he had once her supper, by saying, while Sarmentus was drinking Falernian they were obliged up with vinegar. Sarmentus a boy of Cæsar's, one of those creatures whom the Romans call *Delitæ*.

When Cæsar made his preparations, he decreed be against Cleopatra ; for that Antony could possess that power which had already given up to a woman. Cæsar observed, that was under enchantment, who has longer any power himself. It he, with whom they going to war, but Mardion the eunuch, and Pothinus ; Iris, Cleopatra's woman, and Charmion : for these had the principal direction of affairs. Several prodigies said have happened previous this Pisaurum, a colony of Antony's Adriatic, swallowed up by an earthquake. Antony's statue in Alba covered with for many days, which returned, though it was frequently wiped. While he was at Patras, the temple of Hercules on by lightning, and at Athens the statue of Bacchus carried by a whirlwind from the Gigantomachia into theatre. These things concerned Antony the nearly, he affected to a descendant of Hercules, and imitator of Bacchus, insomuch that he called the younger Bacchus. The same wind threw down the colossal of Eumenes and Attalus, Antoni, while the rest unmoved. And in Cleopatra's royal galley, which called *Antonias*, a phenomenon appeared. Some swallows built their in stern, and others drove away and destroyed their young.

Upon the of war, Antony fewer than 500 armed vessels, magnificently adorned, furnished with eight banks of had, however, 100,000 foot, and 12,000 horse. The auxiliary kings, who fought under banners, Bocchus of Africa, Tarcondemus of the Upper Cilicia, Archelaus Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, of Commagene, Adalias of Thrace. Those who did not attend power, but sent supplies, were Polemo of Pontus, of Arabia, Herod of Judea, and Amyntas king of Lycæonia and Besides he had supplies also from king of Cæsar had 250 men of war, 80,000 foot, and an equal number of the enemy. Antony's dominions lay Euphrates Armenia, Ionian Illyria : Cæsar's from Illyria ocean, and from that again Tus-

can and Sicilian sea. He had likewise all that part of _____ lies opposite to Italy, Gaul and Spain, as far as the pillars of Hercules. _____ rest of that country from Cyrene to Ethiopia was in the possession of Antony.

But such a slave was he to the will of a woman, that though much superior at land, to gratify her, he put _____ whole _____ in the navy; notwithstanding that *the ships had not half their complement of men, and the officers were obliged to press and pick up in Greece, vagrants, ass-drivers, reapers and boys.* Nor could they make up their numbers even with these, but many _____ the ships were still almost empty. *Cæsar's ships, _____ high-built or splendidly set off for show, _____ tight good sailors _____ and equipped,* continued in the harbours _____ Tarentum and Brundisium. From thence _____ Antony, desiring _____ would _____ with _____ forces, _____ time might be lost: _____ at the same time to leave _____ ports _____ harbours _____ for his landing, and _____ withdraw _____ army a day's journey on horseback, that he might make good his encampment. To _____ Antony returned a haughty answer, and though he _____ the older man, challenged Cæsar _____ single combat; or if he should decline this, he might meet him at Pharsalia, and decide it where Cæsar and Pompey had done before. Cæsar prevented this; for while *Antony made for Actium, _____ is _____ called Nicopolis,* _____ crossed _____ Ionian, and seized on Toryne, a place in Epirus. Antony _____ distressed on finding this, because he _____ without his infantry: but Cleopatra made a jest of it, and _____ him if it was so very dreadful a thing that Cæsar was got into the *Ladle* (in Greek *Toryne*).

Antony, _____ it _____ daylight, perceived the enemy making up _____ him; and fearing that his ill-manned vessels would be unable _____ stand the attack, he armed the rowers, and placed them on the decks to make a show: with the oars suspended _____ each _____ of the vessels, _____ proceeded in this mock form of battle towards Actium. Cæsar _____ deceived by the stratagem and retired. The water about Cæsar's _____ both _____ and bad, and Antony had _____ address to _____ they had.

_____ was much about this time, that, contrary _____ inclination _____ Cleopatra, _____ acted _____ a part by Domitius. _____ latter, even when he had a fever upon him, took a small boat and went _____ Cæsar: Antony, though he could _____ but _____ this, _____ after _____ baggage, _____ friends, and servants; _____ Domitius, as if _____ had _____ for grief that his treachery _____ discovered, died very soon after.¹ Amyntas and Deiotarus likewise went over to Cæsar.

Antony's _____ very unsuccessful, _____ so _____ service,

¹ _____ seems to be ill informed _____ It is most probable that Domitius, one of the firm friends of Antony, was delirious when he went over to Cæsar, _____ that Antony _____

_____ of this _____ sent his _____ after him. It is possible, at _____ time, that when he returned to himself, the sense of his desertion might _____

that he was obliged at last to think of his land forces ; and Canidius, who ■ ■ ■ been retained ■ the interest of Cleopatra, now changing ■ mind, thought it necessary that ■ ■ ■ sent away, and that Antony should retire into Thrace and ■ ■ ■ it in ■ field. These places were thought of ■ rather, because Dicomæ, king of the Getae, had offered ■ assist Antony with a large army. To give ■ the ■ ■ Caesar, who, ■ ■ Sicilian wars, had acquired ■ much experience upon it, ■ said, would ■ no disgrace ; but to give up the advantage which so ■ ■ general ■ ■ might make of his land forces, ■ ■ the strength of so many legions in useless draughts for ■ ■ service, would ■ infinitely absurd. Cleopatra, however, prevailed for the decision by sea ; though her motive was ■ the superior chance of victory, but, ■ ■ of being vanquished, the better opportunity ■ escape.

There ■ ■ neck of land that lay between Antony's camp and ■ fleet, along which ■ used ■ go frequently from ■ ■ the other. Caesar ■ ■ informed by a domestic how ■ ■ it might ■ to seize Antony in this passage, and he ■ ■ a party ■ ■ in wait for that purpose. They were so near carrying their point that they seized the person who ■ ■ before Antony, and had they not been too hasty, he must have fallen into their hands, for it was with the greatest difficulty that he made his escape by flight.

After it was determined to decide the affair by sea, they set fire ■ all the Egyptian vessels except sixty. The be ■ ■ largest ships from three ranks of ■ ■ ■ were selected, and these had their proper complement of men, for they were supplied with 20,000 foot and 2,000 archers. Upon this a veteran warrior, an experienced officer in the infantry, who had often fought under Antony, and whose body ■ ■ covered with scars, cried, pointing to those scars, " Why will you, general, distrust these honest wounds, and ■ your hopes on those villainous wooden bottoms ? Let the Egyptians and ■ Phœnicians skirmish at ■ but give ■ at least the land ; ■ there it ■ ■ have learned to conquer ■ ■ die." Antony ■ ■ no answer, but seemed to encourage him by the motions of his hand and head ; though, ■ the ■ time, ■ ■ no great confidence himself ; for when the pilots would have left the sails behind, ■ ordered them to take them all ■ board, pretending, indeed, ■ ■ should ■ done ■ pursue the enemy's flight, not to facilitate his own.

On that and the three following days, the sea ran too high for an engagement ■ ; but on the fifth the weather was fine and the sea calm. Antony and Poplicola ■ ■ right wing, Cœlius ■ left, and Marcus Octavius and ■ ■ Justeius commanded the ■ ■ Caesar ■ given ■ ■ wing to Agrippa, and ■ the right himself. Antony's ■ forces were commanded by Canidius, and Caesar's remained quiet on ■ shore, under ■ command ■ ■ ■ ■ As to ■ generals themselves, Antony was rowed about ■ ■ light vessel, ordering ■ ■ ■ account ■ ■ weight of their vessels to keep their ground ■ ■ fight as steadily as if they were

at land. He ordered his pilots to stand as firm as if they were an anchor, in that position to receive the attacks of the enemy, and by all means to ■■■■ disadvantage of the ■■■■ Caesar, when he left his tent before day, to review his fleet, met a man who driving an ■■■■ Upon asking ■■■■ name, the man answered, my ■■■■ *Eutychus* (Good Fortune) and the ■■■■ of my ass is ■■■■ (Victory). The place where he ■■■■ him was afterwards adorned with trophies of the beaks of ships, ■■■■ there ■■■■ placed ■■■■ of ■■■■ ■■■■ his driver in brass. ■■■■ having viewed ■■■■ whole ■■■■, and taken his post ■■■■ right wing, ■■■■ attended ■■■■ the fleet of the enemy, which he ■■■■ surprised to ■■■■ steady and motionless ■■■■ if it ■■■■ at anchor. For some time ■■■■ of opinion that it ■■■■ so, and for that ■■■■ he kept back his ■■■■ ■■■■ distance of eight furlongs. About noon ■■■■ ■■■■ gale from the sea, and Antony's forces being impatient ■■■■ combat, and trusting ■■■■ the height and ■■■■ of ■■■■ vessels, which they thought would render them invincible, put ■■■■ left wing in motion. ■■■■ rejoiced at ■■■■ sight of this, and kept back ■■■■ right wing, that he might the more effectually draw ■■■■ ■■■■ the open sea, where his light galleys could easily surround the heavy half-manned vessels of the enemy.

The attack ■■■■ not made with any violence or impetuosity : for Antony's ships were too heavy for that ■■■■ of ■■■■ impression, which, however, ■■■■ very necessary for the breach of the enemy's vessel. On the other hand, Caesar's ships durst neither ■■■■ ■■■■ head with Antony's, on account of the strength and roughness of their beaks, nor yet attack them on the sides, since by means of their weight they would easily have broken their beaks, which ■■■■ made of large square pieces of timber fastened ■■■■ each other with iron cramps. The engagement, therefore, ■■■■ ■■■■ a battle ■■■■ land, rather than a ■■■■ fight, or, more properly, like the storming of a town : for there were generally three or more ships of Caesar's about ■■■■ of Antony's, assaulting ■■■■ with pikes, javelins, and fire-brands, while Antony's men, out of ■■■■ wooden towers,¹ threw ■■■■ of various kinds from engines. Agrippa opened ■■■■ left wing with a design ■■■■ surround the enemy, ■■■■ Poplicola, in ■■■■ endeavour ■■■■ prevent him, ■■■■ separated from ■■■■ main body, which threw ■■■■ into disorder, while at the ■■■■ ■■■■ it was attacked with great vigour by Arruntius.² When things ■■■■ ■■■■ situation, and nothing decisive was yet effected, Cleopatra's 60 ships on a sudden hoisted their sails, and fairly took ■■■■ flight, through ■■■■ midst of ■■■■ combatants ; for they ■■■■ placed ■■■■ rear ■■■■ the large vessels, and by breaking their way through them they occasioned no ■■■■ confusion. The enemy ■■■■ them with astonishment making their way with a fair wind ■■■■ Pelopon- ■■■■ Antony, on this occasion, forgot both the general and ■■■■

¹ The cramps are so ■■■■ in ■■■■ of their ballness.

² ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■

Caesar's centre, though that ■■■■ is not mentioned.

man ; and the author pleasantly observed, that a lover's soul lives in the body of his beloved, as he had been absolutely incorporated with her, he suffered her to carry him soul and body away. He did not see her vessel hoisting sail, than forgetting every other object, forgetting those brave friends that were shedding their blood in his cause, he took a five-oared galley, and accompanied only by Alexander the Trojan, Scellius, followed her who was the first cause, and the accomplisher of his ruin. Her own destruction was certain, and he voluntarily involved himself in her fate.

When she saw him coming, she put up a signal in her vessel, on which he came aboard : neither of them could look each other in the face, Antony lay down at the head of the ship, where he remained in sombre silence, holding his sword between his hands. In the meantime Caesar's light ships that were in pursuit of Antony, were in sight. Upon this he ordered his pilots to tack about and follow them ; but they all declined the engagement and went off, except Eurycles the Lacedæmonian, who shook his lance at him in a menacing manner on the deck. Antony standing at the head of his galley, cried, "Who art thou that thou pursuest Antony?" He answered, "I am Eurycles the son of Lachares, and follow the fortunes of Caesar to revenge my father's death." This Lachares Antony had beheaded for a robbery. Eurycles, however, did not attack Antony's vessel, but fell upon the other admiral galley (for there were two of that rank), and by the shock turned her round. He took that vessel and another which contained Antony's most valuable plate and furniture. When Eurycles was gone, Antony returned to the same pensive posture ; and continuing thus for three days, during which, either through shame or resentment, he refused to see Cleopatra, he arrived at Tænarus. There the women who attended them, brought them to speak to each other, then to sit together, and not long after, as may be supposed, to sleep together. At last, several of his transports, and some of his friends, escaped from the defeat, and informed him, and informed him that his army was totally destroyed, but his forces were yet unhurt. Upon this, he ordered Canidius immediately to march his army through Macedonia into Asia. As for himself, he determined to go from Tænarus into Africa, and dividing one ship of his amongst his friends, he provided them with their own safety. They refused to take treasure, and expressed their grief in tears ; while Antony, in the kindest and most generous consolations, entreated them to accept it, and gave them letters of recommendation to his agent at Corinth, whom he ordered to give them refuge if they were reconciled to Caesar. This agent was Theophilus, a friend of Hipparchus, who had great interest with Antony ; and of his freedmen that went to Caesar. He settled at Corinth.

In this posture was the army of Antony. After the Battle of Actium, he long struggled with Caesar's, a hard gale

right a-head of [REDACTED] ships, obliged them [REDACTED] give [REDACTED] about [REDACTED] the afternoon. About 5,000 men were slain in the action, and Caesar, according [REDACTED] own account, took 300 ships. Antony's flight [REDACTED] observed by few, and to those who had [REDACTED] it, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] incredible. They could not possibly believe [REDACTED] a general who [REDACTED] 19 legions and 12,000 horse, a general to whom vicissitude of fortune [REDACTED] nothing new, would [REDACTED] basely desert them. His soldiers [REDACTED] an inexpressible desire [REDACTED] him, [REDACTED] expecting that [REDACTED] would appear in [REDACTED] part or other, gave the strongest testimony of their courage and fidelity. Nay, when they were even convinced that he [REDACTED] irrecoverably [REDACTED], they continued embodied [REDACTED] seven days, and would [REDACTED] listen [REDACTED] the ambassadors of Caesar. At last, however, when Canidius who commanded them fled from [REDACTED] camp by night, and when they were abandoned by their principal officers, they surrendered [REDACTED] Caesar.

[REDACTED] great success, Caesar [REDACTED] for Athens. The cities of Greece [REDACTED] found in [REDACTED] poverty; for they had been plundered of their cattle and everything else before the [REDACTED]. He, therefore, not only admitted them to favour, but made a distribution amongst them of the remainder of the corn which had been provided for the war. *My great grandfather, Nicarchus, used to relate, that, the inhabitants of Charonea had no horses, they were compelled [REDACTED] a certain quantity of corn on their shoulders [REDACTED] the sea-coast as far [REDACTED] Anticyra, and [REDACTED] driven by soldiers with stripes like [REDACTED] beasts of burden.* This, however, [REDACTED] done but once; for when [REDACTED] corn [REDACTED] measured [REDACTED] second time, and they were preparing to carry it, news came of Antony's defeat, and this saved the city from further hardships; for the commissaries and soldiers immediately took [REDACTED] flight, and left the poor inhabitants to share [REDACTED] corn amongst themselves.

When Antony arrived in Libya, he sent Cleopatra [REDACTED] Paratonium into Egypt, and retired to a melancholy desert, where [REDACTED] wandered [REDACTED] and down, with only two attendants. One of these [REDACTED] Aristocrates the Greek rhetorician: the other [REDACTED] Lucilius, who, [REDACTED] favour the [REDACTED] of Brutus [REDACTED] the battle of Philippi, assumed his name, and suffered himself [REDACTED] be taken. Antony saved him, and he was so grateful that he attended him [REDACTED] last.

[REDACTED] Antony [REDACTED] informed [REDACTED] he who commanded [REDACTED] troops [REDACTED] Libya was gone [REDACTED] to the enemy, he attempted [REDACTED] lay violent hands on himself; but [REDACTED] prevented by his friends, who conveyed him [REDACTED] Alexandria, where he found Cleopatra engaged in a very [REDACTED] enterprise.

Between the Red Sea and the Egyptian, there is an isthmus [REDACTED] divides Asia from Africa, [REDACTED] which, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] part, [REDACTED] about 300 furlongs in breadth. Cleopatra [REDACTED] [REDACTED] design of drawing her galleys [REDACTED] this part into the [REDACTED] Sea, [REDACTED] purposed with all her wealth and forces to seek some remote country, where [REDACTED] [REDACTED] neither be reduced to slavery, nor involved [REDACTED] [REDACTED]. However, the first galleys that were carried over, being burned by [REDACTED]

Arabians of Petra,¹ [] Antony [] knowing that [] [] forces [] dispersed, she gave up this enterprise, and began [] fortify the avenues of her kingdom. Antony [] the meantime forsook [] city [] the society of his friends, and retired [] a [] house which [] [] [] [] Pharos, on a mound he [] cast up in the [] [] [] place, sequestered from [] commerce with mankind, he affected to live like Timon, because there [] [] resemblance in their fortunes. [] had been [] [] by his friends, and their ingratitude [] put him out of humour with his [] species.

This Timon [] [] citizen of Athens, and [] about [] [] [] the Peloponnesian war, [] appears from the comedies of Aristophanes and Plato, [] which he is exposed [] the hater of mankind. Yet, though [] hated mankind in general, he caressed [] bold and impudent boy Alcibiades, and being asked the reason of this by Apemantus, who expressing [] surprise [] it, [] answered, it [] because [] foresaw that he [] [] plague [] people [] Athens. Apemantus [] the only one he admitted [] his society, [] [] was [] [] [] in point of principle. At the feast of sacrifices [] the dead, these [] dined by themselves, and when Apemantus observed that the feast [] excellent, Timon answered, "It would be so if you [] [] here." Once in an assembly of the people, he mounted the rostrum, and the novelty of the thing occasioned [] universal silence and expectation : at length [] said, "People of Athens, there is a fig-tree [] my yard, [] which many worthy citizens have hanged themselves ; and as I have determined to build upon the spot, I thought it necessary to give this public notice, that such as choose [] have recourse to this [] for the aforesaid purpose may repair to it [] [] it [] cut down." He [] buried [] Halse near the sea, and the water surrounded his tomb in such a manner, that he was [] then inaccessible to mankind. The following epitaph is inscribed on [] monument :—

At last, I've bid [] knives farewell ;
[] not my name—but go—to hell.

It is said [] [] this epitaph himself. That which [] [] monly repeated, [] written by Callimachus

My name is Timon : knives, begone !
Ours'e me, but come [] [] my stone !

These are [] of the many anecdotes [] have concerning Timon.

Canidius himself brought Antony news of [] [] [] his army. Soon after [] heard that *Herod of Judæa* [] [] over [] Cæsar with [] legions and cohorts, that several other powers [] deserted [] interest, and, [] short, [] he [] no foreign assistance [] depend upon. None of these things, however, disturbed him ; for [] once abandoning his hopes and his cares, he [] [] Timonian [] [] and returned [] Alexandria ; where, in the palace of Cleopatra, he once [] entertained [] citizens [] [] [] festivity and munificence. [] [] the *laga virilis* []

¹ Dion tells us, that the vessels which [] drawn over the *Temulus*, but some that were burned were not those that were [] had been built on that side. Lib. 51.

Antyllus, by Fulvia, Cleopatra's son by Caesar into the order of young entertainments on this sion infinitely pompous and magnificent, lasted many days.

Antony and Cleopatra had before established a society called the *Inimitable Livers*, of which they members; they instituted another by inferior in splendour luxury, *The Companions in Death*. Their admitted into this, and time passed in mutual diversions. Cleopatra, at time, making a collection of poisonous drugs, and being desirous to know which the painful in the operation, she tried them on the capital convicts. Such poisons were quick in their operation found attended with violent pain and convulsions; such as milder slow in their effect; she, therefore, applied herself the amination of creatures, and caused kinds of them applied to different persons under her own inspection. These experiments she repeated daily, and length she found the bite of the asp (*Aspis somniculosa*, Sisen), most eligible kind of death; for it brought on a gradual kind of lethargy, in which the face covered with a gentle sweat, and the senses sunk easily into stupefaction: and those who thus affected showed the same uneasiness at being disturbed or awaked, that people do in the profoundest natural sleep.

They both ambassadors to Caesar in Asia. Cleopatra requested Egypt for her children, and Antony only petitioned that he might be permitted live as a private man in Egypt, or if that were too much, that he might retire to Athens. Deserted as they by almost all their friends, hardly knowing in whom confide, they forced to send Euphronius, their children's tutor, on this embassy. Alexis of Laodicea, who, by means of Timogenes, became acquainted with Antony at Rome, a man of great skill in the Greek learning, and one of Cleopatra's chief agents in her Antony from Octavia, he had before Herod in his interest. This man up Antony, and, relying on Herod's interest, the confidence before Caesar. The interest of Herod, however, him; for he immediately carried chains into his own country, there put death. Thus Antony had, least, satisfaction seeing him punished for perfidy.

Caesar absolutely rejected Antony's petition; but he answered Cleopatra, might expect every from him, provided took off Antony, or him her dominions. At same time sent Thyreus¹ to her, who was one of his freed-

¹ Dion calls him Thyreas. Antony and Cleopatra sent other to Caesar with offers of commendation, and last of all Antony sent his son Antyllus with large sums of money. Caesar with meanness would make a part of his character, took the gold, but granted

him none of his requests. Fearing, however, that despair might put Antony upon the resolution of carrying the war into Spain or Gaul, or provoke him to burn the wealth that Cleopatra had been amassing, he sent Thyreus to Al

men, and whose address was not unlikely to carry his point, particularly as he came from a young conqueror the court of a vain ambitious queen, who had still the highest opinion of her personal charms.¹ As this ambassador was indulged in audiences longer and more frequent than usual, Antony, jealous, and having ordered him to be whipped, sent him back to Caesar with letters, wherein he informed him, that he had been provoked by the insolence of a freedman at Rome when his misfortune made him but too prone to anger. "However," added he, "you have a freedman of mine, Hipparchus, in your power, and if you may satisfaction in you, use him in the same manner." Cleopatra, that she might make amends for her indiscretion, behaved to him with great tenderness and respect. She kept her birth-day in a manner suitable to their unhappy circumstances; but she celebrated with more magnificence, that many of the guests who came poor, returned wealthy.

After Antony's overthrow, Agrippa wrote several letters to Caesar, to inform him that his presence was necessary at Rome. This put off the war for some time; but as soon as winter was over, Caesar marched against Antony by the route of Syria, and sent his lieutenants to the same business into Africa. When Pelusium was taken it was rumoured that Seleucus had delivered up the place with the connivance or consent of Cleopatra: whereupon the queen, in order to justify herself, gave up the wife and children of Seleucus into the hands of Antony. Cleopatra had erected near the temple of Isis some monuments of extraordinary splendour and magnificence. To these she removed her treasure, her gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon, together with a large quantity of flax, and a number of torches. Owing to some apprehension about this immense wealth, lest, upon some sudden emergency, she should set fire to the whole. For she was continually sending messengers to her with gentle and honourable treatment, while in the mean time he hastened to the city with his army.

When he arrived he encamped near the Hippodrome; upon which Antony made a brisk sally, routed the cavalry, drove them into their trenches, and returned to the city with great placency of a conqueror. As he was going to the palace he met Cleopatra, whom, armed as he was, he kissed without ceremony, and at that time he recommended her favour a brave soldier, who had distinguished himself in the engagement. She presented the king with a cuirass and helmet of gold, which he took, and that night went over to Caesar. After this, Antony challenged Caesar to fight him in single combat, but Caesar only answered, *Antony might think of many other ways to end his life.* Antony, therefore, concluding that he could not do so honourably

¹ Dion Cassius. Theros was intended to make use of the softest and to insinuate that Caesar was captivated with her. The object

of this measure was to prevail on her to take off Antony while she was flattered with the prospect of obtaining the con-

in battle, determined to attack Caesar at the same time both by sea [REDACTED] night preceding the execution of [REDACTED] design, [REDACTED] ordered [REDACTED] servants at supper to render him [REDACTED] that evening, and fill the wine round plentifully ; for the day following they might belong to another master, whilst [REDACTED] lay extended [REDACTED] the ground, [REDACTED] longer of consequence either to them [REDACTED] friends [REDACTED] affected, and wept [REDACTED] hear him [REDACTED] ; which, when he perceived, [REDACTED] encouraged them by assurances, that his expectations of a glorious victory [REDACTED] at least equal [REDACTED] of an honourable death. At the dead of night, when universal silence reigned through the city, a silence that was deepened by the awful thought of [REDACTED] ensuing day, [REDACTED] a sudden was heard [REDACTED] sound of musical instruments, [REDACTED] a noise which resembled the exclamations of Bacchanals. This tumultuous procession seemed to [REDACTED] through [REDACTED] city, and [REDACTED] at the gate which [REDACTED] enemy's camp. Those who reflected on this prodigy, concluded that Bacchus, the god whom Antony affected [REDACTED] imitate, had then forsaken him.

As soon as it was light, he led his infantry out of the city, and posted them [REDACTED] a rising ground, from whence he saw [REDACTED] fleet advance towards the enemy. There he stood waiting for the event ; but as soon as the two fleets met, they hailed each other with their [REDACTED] in a very friendly manner (Antony's [REDACTED] making the [REDACTED] advances), and sailed together peaceably towards the city. This [REDACTED] no sooner done than the cavalry deserted him in the [REDACTED] manner, and surrendered to Caesar. His infantry were routed ; and as he retired to the city, he exclaimed that Cleopatra had betrayed him [REDACTED] those with whom he was fighting only for her sake.

The unhappy queen, dreading the effects of his anger, fled to her monument, and having secured it as much as possible with bars and bolts, she [REDACTED] orders that Antony should [REDACTED] informed she was dead. Believing the information to be true, he cried, "Antony, why dost thou delay ? What is life to thee, when it is taken from her, for whom alone thou couldst wish to live ?" [REDACTED] then [REDACTED] to his chamber, and opening his coat of mail, [REDACTED] said, "I am not distressed, Cleopatra, [REDACTED] thou art [REDACTED] before me, [REDACTED] I [REDACTED] soon be with thee ; but I grieve to think that I, who have been so distinguished a general, should be inferior in magnanimity to a woman." [REDACTED] was then [REDACTED] by a [REDACTED] servant, whose name was Eros. [REDACTED] engaged this servant [REDACTED] kill him whenever [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] necessary, and he now [REDACTED] [REDACTED] service. [REDACTED] drew [REDACTED] sword, as if he designed to kill him ; but suddenly turning about, he slew himself, and fell at his master's feet ! "This, Eros, was greatly done," said Antony ; "thy heart would not permit thee to kill thy master, but thou hast taught him what [REDACTED] do by thy example." He then plunged his sword into his bowels, and threw himself on a couch that stood by. The wound, however, was not so deep as to cause immediate death ; and the blood stopping as he lay on the couch, he came to himself, and entreated those who stood by to put him out of [REDACTED] pain. They all fled

nevertheless, and left him to his cries and torments, till Diomedes, secretary to Cleopatra, came with her request, **come** to her in the monument. When Antony **came** living, it gave him fresh spirits, and he ordered his servants to take him up. Accordingly they carried **him** **up** **the** door of the monument. Cleopatra would not suffer the door to be opened, but a cord being **drawn** from a window, Antony **was** fastened to it, and she, with her two women, all that were admitted into the monument, drew him up. Nothing, as they **presently** observed, could possibly **be** more affecting than **the** spectacle. Antony, covered with blood, and **in** **the** agonies **of** death, hoisted up by the rope, and stretching out his hands to Cleopatra, **he** **was** suspended, for a **long** time, in the air! For it **was** **the** greatest difficulty they drew **him** up, though Cleopatra herself exerted all her strength, straining every nerve, and distorting every feature with the violence of the effort; **those** **who** **were** below endeavoured to **encourage** her, and seemed to partake in all the toil, and all the emotions that she felt. When she had drawn him up, and laid him on a bed, as she stood over him, she rent her clothes, beat and wounded her breast, and wiping the blood from his disfigured countenance, she called him her lord, her emperor, her husband! Her soul was absorbed in **her** misfortunes; and she seemed totally to have forgotten that she **had** any miseries of her own. Antony endeavoured **to** soothe **himself** **by** **drinking** **wine**, **because** **he** **was** thirsty, or because he thought it might sooner put him out of his pain. When he had drank, he **desired** her to consult her **affairs** and her safety, so far as might be consistent with honour, and to place her confidence in Proculeius rather than in the other friends of Caesar. "As **for** **himself**," **he** **said**, "that **he** **ought** rather to rejoice in the remembrance of his past happiness than to bewail his present misfortunes; since in his **life** **he** **had** **been** illustrious, and was not inglorious in **his** death. **He** **had** **conquered** **a** Roman, and it was only by a Roman that **he** **was** conquered." A little **after** **he** **expired**, Proculeius arrived from Caesar: for after Antony **had** **stabbed** **himself**, **he** **was** conveyed to Cleopatra, Dercetus, one of **her** guards, privately carried **his** bloody sword, and showed it **to** Caesar. When Caesar **learned** **of** **Antony's** death, **he** **retired** to the inner part of his tent, and shed **many** **tears** in remembrance of a man who had been his relation, his colleague in government, and his associate in so many battles and important affairs.¹ He then called **his** friends together, **and** **read** the letters which **had** **passed** between him and Antony, wherein **it** **appeared** that, though Caesar **was** still written in a rational and

¹ This retirement of Caesar was certainly an affectation of concern. The death of Antony had been an inevitable object with him. He was too cowardly to think himself safe while he lived; and

to expose his weakness by reading his letters the moment he was informed of his death, was certainly no proof that he felt even then any tenderness for his memory.

equitable manner, the answers of Antony were [redacted] and contemptuous. [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] despatched Proculeius with orders to [redacted] Cleopatra alive, if it were possible, for [redacted] [redacted] extremely solicitous to save the treasures [redacted] [redacted] monument, which would [redacted] greatly add to the glory of his triumph. However, she [redacted] refused to admit [redacted] into the monument, and would only speak [redacted] [redacted] through the bolted gate. The substance of this [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] Cleopatra made a requisition of the kingdom for her children, [redacted] Proculeius, [redacted] [redacted] other hand, encouraged [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] everything [redacted] Caesar.

After [redacted] [redacted] reconnoitred [redacted] place, he [redacted] an [redacted] of [redacted] [redacted] Caesar, upon which Gallus [redacted] despatched to confer with Cleopatra. The [redacted] [redacted] thus concerted: Gallus [redacted] up [redacted] [redacted] gate of the monument, [redacted] drew Cleopatra into conversation, while, in [redacted] mean time, Proculeius applied a ladder to the window, where the women had [redacted] [redacted] Antony; and having got [redacted] with [redacted] servants, [redacted] immediately made for the place where Cleopatra [redacted] in [redacted] conference with Gallus. One of her women discovered him, and immediately screamed aloud, "Wretched Cleopatra, you are taken alive." [redacted] turned about, and, seeing Proculeius, she [redacted] instant attempted to stab herself; for to this intent she always carried a dagger [redacted] with her. Proculeius, however, prevented her, and, expostulating with her, as he held her in his arms, he entreated her not to be so injurious to herself or to Caesar:—that she would not deprive so humane a prince of the glory of his clemency, or [redacted] him by her distrust to the imputation of treachery or cruelty. At the same time he took the dagger from her, and shook her clothes, lest she [redacted] [redacted] have poison concealed about her. Caesar also [redacted] his freedman Epaphroditus with orders to treat her with the greatest politeness, but, by [redacted] means, [redacted] bring her alive.

Caesar entered Alexandria conversing with Arius the philosopher; and that he might [redacted] him honour before the people, he led him by [redacted] [redacted]. When he entered [redacted] Gymnasium, he ascended [redacted] [redacted] which had [redacted] erected for him, and [redacted] [redacted] to the [redacted] [redacted] prostrated themselves [redacted] him, that the city should not [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] them he had different motives for this. In the first place, it was built by Alexander, in the next place, he admired it for its beauty and magnitude; and, lastly, he would spare it, were it but for the [redacted] of his friend Arius, who was born there. Caesar gave him the high honour of [redacted] [redacted] appellation, and pardoned [redacted] [redacted] his request. Amongst [redacted] [redacted] Philostratus, [redacted] of the [redacted] [redacted] and eloquent sophists of his time. [redacted] [redacted] without [redacted] right, pretended to be a follower of the academics; and Caesar, from a bad opinion of his morals, rejected [redacted] petition. upon which [redacted] [redacted] sophist followed [redacted] up [redacted] down [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] a long white beard, crying, constantly,

[redacted] who, if really [redacted] will save [redacted] [redacted]

Caesar heard and pardoned him, not so much out of favour, as to

save Arius from the impertinence and envy he might incur

Antyllus, son of Antony by Fulvia, was betrayed by Theodorus and put to death. While he was beheading him, he stole a jewel of considerable value, which he hid about his neck, and concealed it in his girdle. When he was charged with it, he denied the fact; but the jewel was found on him, and he was crucified. Cæsar appointed a guard over Cleopatra and their governors, and allowed them an ample support. Cæsario, the reputed son of Cæsar the dictator, was brought up by his mother, with a considerable sum of money, through Æthiopia to India. But Rhoden, his governor, a man of the same principles as Theodorus, persuading him that he would certainly make him king of Egypt, prevailed on him to desert. Cæsar was deliberating how to dispose of him, Arius has observed, that there ought not, by any means, to be many Cæsars. However, soon after the death of Cleopatra, he was slain.

Many considerable princes begged the body of Antony, that they might have the honour of giving it burial; but Cæsar would not take it from Cleopatra, who interred it with her own hands, and performed the funeral rites with great magnificence; for she was allowed to expend what she thought proper on the occasion. The excess of her affliction and the inflammation of her breast, which was wounded by the blows she had given it in her anguish, threw her into a fever. She was pleased to excuse in this abstaining from food, and hoped, by this means, to die without interruption. The physician, in whom she placed her principal confidence, Olympus; and, according to his short account of these transactions, she made use of his advice in the accomplishment of her design. Cæsar, however, suspected it; and that he might prevail on her to take the necessary food and physic, he threatened her children with severity. This was the effect, her resolution was overborne.¹

A few days after, Cæsar himself made her a visit of condolence and consolation. She was then in undress, and lying negligently on a couch; but when the conqueror entered the apartment, though she had nothing on, but a single bedgown, she arose and threw herself on her feet. Her face was of figure, her hair in disorder, her voice trembling, her eyes sunk, and her bosom bore marks of the injuries she had done it. In short, the person gave the image of her mind; yet, in this deplorable condition, there were some remains of that grace, that spirit and vivacity which so peculiarly animated her former charms, and some

¹ Cleopatra, on the contrary, the picture of fidelity and constant affection, who had several opportunities of betraying Antony, could she have been induced to it by

love or ambition. Her tenderness for her children was always superior to her self-love; and she was a greatness of soul, which Cæsar never knew.

gleams of her native elegance might be seen to wander over melancholy []

[] Caesar had replaced her on her couch, and seated himself by her, [] endeavoured to justify the part [] took against him in the war, alleging the necessity she was under, and her fear of Antony. But when she found that these apologies had no weight [] Caesar, she had recourse to prayers and entreaties, as if [] had been really desirous of life; and, [] the same time, she put [] hands an inventory of her treasure. Seleucus, [] of her treasurers, who [] present, accused her of suppressing some [] in [] account; upon which she started up from her couch, caught [] by [] hair, and gave him several blows on the face. [] smiled at [] spirited resentment, and endeavoured [] pacify her. "But now [] it is [] home," [] she, "Caesar, if, [] you honour me with a visit in my wretched situation, I [] [] by [] of my [] servants? Supposing [] I have reserved a few trinkets, they were by no means intended as ornaments for my own person in these miserable fortunes, but as little presents for Octavia and Livia, by whose good offices I might hope to find favour with you." Caesar was not displeased to hear this, because he flattered himself that she was willing to live. He, therefore, assured her, that, whatever she had reserved she might dispose of [] her pleasure; and that she might, in every respect, depend on the most honourable treatment. After this, he took his leave, in confidence that he had brought her to [] purpose; but she deceived him.

There was in Caesar's train a young nobleman, whose name was Cornelius Dolabella. He [] smitten with the charms of Cleopatra, and having engaged to communicate to her everything that passed he sent her private notice that Caesar was about to return into Syria, and that, within three days, she would [] away with [] children. When she was informed of this, she requested of Caesar permission to make her last oblations to Antony. This being granted she was conveyed to the place where he was buried; and kneeling at his tomb, with her women, she thus addressed the manes of the dead:—"It is not long, my Antony, since with these hands I buried thee. Alas! they then were free; but thy Cleopatra [] now a prisoner, attended by a guard, liest in the transports of her grief, she should disfigure this captive body, which is reserved to adorn the triumph over thee. These are the last offerings, the last honours she can pay thee: for she is now to be conveyed to a distant country. Nothing could part us while we lived: but in death we are to be divided. Thou, though a Roman, liest buried in Egypt; and I, an Egyptian, must be interred in Italy, the only

¹ Dion gives a more pious account of her reception of Caesar. She received him, he tells us, in a magnificent apartment, lying on a splendid bed, in a mourning habit, which peculiarly became her; that she had several pictures of

Julius Caesar placed near her; and some letters she had received from him in her bosom. The conversation turned on the same subject; and her speech on the occasion is recorded. Dion l. 54.

punctures on her arm, apparently occasioned by the sting of the asp; and it is clear that Cæsar gave credit to this; for her effigy, which he carried in triumph, had an asp on her arm.¹

Such are the accounts we have of the death of Cleopatra; and though Cæsar was much disappointed by it, he admired her fortitude, and ordered her to be buried in the tomb of Antony, with all the magnificence due to her quality. He was too, by his orders, interred with great funeral pomp. Cleopatra died at the age of 39, after having reigned 22 years, the 14 last in conjunction with Antony. Antony was 53, some say 56, when he died. They were all buried, but Cleopatra's remains untouched; Archibius, one of hers, gave Cæsar talents for their redemption.

Antony had by his three wives seven children,² whereof Antyllus, the eldest, only was put to death. Octavia took the rest, and educated them as her own. Cleopatra, his daughter by Cleopatra, was married to Juba, one of the politest princes of that time; and Octavia made Antony, his son by Fulvia, so considerable to Cæsar, that, after Agrippa and the son of Livia, he was generally allowed to hold the first place in his favour. Octavia, by her first husband Marcellus, had two daughters and a son, Marcellus. One of these daughters she married Agrippa; and the other married a daughter of Cæsar's. But she died after, and Octavia observing that her brother was in loss whom he should adopt in his place, she prevailed on him to give his daughter Julia to Agrippa, though her own daughter must necessarily be divorced to make way for her. Cæsar and Agrippa, having agreed on this point, she took back her daughter and married her to Antony. Of his two daughters, that Octavia had by Antony, one was married to Domitius Ænobarbus, and the other, Antonia, so celebrated for her beauty and virtue, married Drusus, the son of Livia, and son-in-law of Cæsar. Of this line were Germanicus and Claudius. Claudius was afterwards emperor; and so likewise was Caius, son of Germanicus, who, after a short but infamous reign, was put to death, together with his wife's daughter. Agrippina, who had Lucius Domitius by Ænobarbus, afterwards married Claudius Cæsar. He adopted Domitius, whom he called Germanicus. Nero, who was emperor in his times, put his mother to death, and, by the madness of his conduct, ruined the Roman empire. This was the end of the line from Antony.

¹ This may be a matter of doubt. There would, of course, be an asp on the diadem of the effigy, because it was peculiar to the kings of Egypt; and this might give rise to the report of an asp being on the arm.

² By Fulvia, he had Antyllus and Antony; by Cleopatra, he had Cleopatra, Ptolemy, and Alexander; and by Octavia Antonia major and minor.

GALBA.

[PHICRATES, _____ Athenian general, thought that a soldier of fortune should have _____ attachment both to _____ and pleasure, that his passions might put him upon fighting with more boldness for _____ supply. But _____ others are of opinion, that the main body of _____ army, like _____ healthy natural body, should have no _____ _____ own, _____ be entirely guided by the head. Hence Paulus Æmilius, when _____ found his army in Macedonia talkative, busy, and ready _____ direct their general, is said _____ have given orders, "That each should keep his hand fit for action, and his sword sharp, and leave the rest _____ him." And Plato, perceiving that the best general _____ undertake anything with success, unless his troops _____ sober and perfectly united to support him, concluded that _____ know how _____ obey required _____ generous _____ disposition, and as rational an education _____ to know how to command, for these advantages would connect the violence and impetuosity of the soldier with the mildness and humanity of the philosopher. Amongst other fatal examples, what happened amongst the Romans after the death of Nero, is sufficient _____ show that nothing _____ more dreadful than _____ undisciplined army actuated only by the impulse of their _____ ferocity. Demades, seeing the wild and violent motions of the Macedonian army after the death of Alexander, compared _____ to the Cyclops,¹ after his eye _____ put out. But the Roman empire more resembled the extravagant passions and ravings of the Titans, which the poets tell us of, when it _____ torn in pieces by rebellion, and turned its arms against itself, not _____ much through the ambition of the emperors, _____ the _____ and licentiousness of _____ soldiers, who drove _____ one emperor by another.²

Dionysius the Sicilian, speaking of Alexander of Phœria, who reigned in Thessaly only ten months, and then _____ slain, called him, in derision of the sudden change, a theatrical tyrant. But the palace of _____ Caesars received four emperors _____ a less space of time, _____ entering, and another _____ making his exit, as if they had only been acting a part upon the stage. The Romans, indeed, had _____ _____ amidst their misfortunes, that they needed _____ other revenge upon the authors of them than to see them destroy each other; _____ with _____ greatest justice of _____ fell the first, who corrupted _____ army, and taught _____ _____ expect _____ much upon the change of emperor; thus dishonouring a glorious action by mercenary _____ considerations, and turning the revolt from Nero into treason. For Nymphidius Salinus, who, _____ we observed before,³ _____ joined in _____ with Tigellinus, as captain of the prætorian cohorts, after Nero's affairs _____ _____ a desperate state, and _____ was slain _____

¹ Polyphemus.² In the life of Nero, which is lost.³ In the original it is, at one word is driven out by another.

he intended to retire into Egypt, persuaded the army, as if Nero had already abdicated, to declare Galba emperor, promising every praetorian cohort seven thousand hundred drachmas, and his troops were quartered in the provinces twelve and sixty drachmas a month which was impossible to collect without doing infinitely more mischief to the empire than Nero had done in his reign.

This proved the immediate ruin of Nero, and soon after destroyed Galba himself. They deserted Nero in hopes of receiving the emperor and despatched Galba because they would receive it. Afterwards they sought for another who might do that sum, but they ruined themselves by their rebellions and treasons, without gaining what they had been made to expect. To give a complete and true account of the affairs of those times belongs to the professed historian. It is, however, in my province to lay before the reader the most remarkable circumstances of the reign of Nero.

It is an acknowledged truth, that Sulpitius Galba was the richest private man that ever lived, and that he had the imperial dignity. But though his extraction was of the noblest, from the family of the Servil, yet he thought it a greater honour to be related to Quintus Catulus Capitolinus, who was the first man in his time for virtue and reputation, though he voluntarily left to others the pre-eminence in power. He was also related to Livia, the wife of Augustus, and it was by her interest that he was raised from a private station to the dignity of consul. It is remarkable that he acquitted himself in his commission in Germany with honour; and that he gained more reputation than most commanders, during his proconsulate in Africa. But his simple parsimonious way of living passed for avarice in an emperor; and the pride he took in economy was a strict temperance out of character.

He was sent governor into Spain by Nero, and that emperor had learned to such of the citizens as had great authority in Rome. Besides, the mildness of his temper and his advanced time of life promised a cautious and prudent conduct. The emperor's receivers, a set of abandoned men, who had seized the provinces in a cruel manner, Galba could not assist them against their persecutors, but he concerned himself in their misfortunes, which appeared to him more than if he had been a sufferer himself, and he gave them consolation, while they were condemned to be sold for slaves. Many poems were made upon Nero, and sung everywhere; and Galba did not endeavour to suppress them, nor join in their receivers in their resentment, which was a circumstance which endeared him still more to the natives. For by this time he had contracted a friendship with them, having long been their governor. He bore that commission eight years, when Junius Sedex, who was governor of Gaul, revolted against Nero. It was that,

1 *Procuratores*: they had full powers to collect the revenues, and scrupled no acts

of oppression in the course of their proceedings.

this broke out, intimations it in from Vindex : but he neither countenanced discovered it, as governors of other provinces did, letters they had Nero, and by that means ruined the project, in their power. Yet governors afterwards joining in the spiracy against their prince, they could betray not only Vindex, but themselves.

But after Vindex had openly commenced hostilities, he wrote Galba, desiring him "To accept the imperial dignity, and give a strong Gallic body which so much wanted ; which had no than 100,000 and was to a greater number."

Galba then called a council of his friends. Some of them advised him to wait and what motions there might in Rome, inclinations for change. Titus Vinus, captain of one the prætorian cohorts, said, "What is there, for deliberation ? To inquire whether shall continue faithful to Nero have revolted already. There no medium. either accept the friendship of Vindex, if Nero declared enemy, and fight Vindex, because he desires that the Romans should have Galba for their emperor rather than Nero for their tyrant." Upon this, Galba, by an edict, fixed a day for encouraging all who should present themselves. The report of this soon drew together a multitude of people who were desirous of a change, and *he had sooner mounted the tribunal than, with one voice, they declared him emperor.* He did not immediately accept the title, but accused Nero of great crimes, and lamented the fall of many Romans of great distinction, whom he had barbarously slain : after which he declared, "That he would serve his country with his best abilities, not as Caesar emperor, but lieutenant to the and people of Rome."¹

That it a just and rational scheme which Vindex adopted in calling to the empire, there needs no better proof than Nero himself. For though pretended to look upon commotions in Gaul as nothing, yet when he received the of Galba's revolt, which happened to do just after he had bathed, and was sat down supper, in overturned the table. However when had declared Galba an enemy his country, he affected despise the danger, and, attempting merry upon it, his friends, "I have long wanted a pretence money, and this will furnish me with excellent. The Gauls, when I have conquered them, be a fine booty, and, in the meantime, I will the of Galba, since a declared enemy, and dispose of it as I fit." Accordingly gave directions that Galba's estate sold ; which Galba sooner heard of, than exposed sale belonged Nero in Spain, and readily found purchasers.

¹ The Cæsius informs us, that this was made after his death, and only on April 3; for he was on January 15 in the following year.

The revolt from ■■■■ became general, and ■■■■ provinces declared ■■■■ Galba : only Clodius ■■■■ in Africa, and Virginius ■■■■ in Germany, stood ■■■■ and acted for ■■■■ ves, but ■■■■ different motives. ■■■■ being conscious ■■■■ of much rapine and many murders, ■■■■ which ■■■■ avarice and cruelty had prompted him, ■■■■ in ■■■■ fluctuating state, and could ■■■■ his resolution either ■■■■ or reject the imperial title. And Virginius, who commanded ■■■■ of the best legions in the empire, and ■■■■ been often pressed by them to take the title of emperor, declared, " That ■■■■ would neither take it himself, nor ■■■■ it to be given to any other but the person whom the ■■■■ should name."

Galba ■■■■ a little alarmed at this ■■■■ first. But after the forces ■■■■ Virginius and Vindex ■■■■ overpowered them, like charioteers no longer able ■■■■ manage the reins, and forced them ■■■■ fight, Vindex lost 20,000 Gauls in the battle, and then despatched himself. A report ■■■■ was then current, that ■■■■ victorious army, in ■■■■ of ■■■■ great an advantage, would insist that Virginius should accept the imperial dignity, and that, if he refused it, they would ■■■■ again ■■■■ Nero. This put Galba ■■■■ a great consternation, and ■■■■ letters ■■■■ Virginius exhorting him ■■■■ act in concert with him, for preserving the empire and liberty of the Romans. After which he retired with his friends to Colonia, a city in Spain, and there spent some time, rather in repenting what he had done, and wishing for the life of ease and leisure, to which he had so long been accustomed, than taking any of the necessary steps for his promotion.

It ■■■■ the beginning of summer, when one evening, a little before night, ■■■■ of Galba's freedmen, a native of Sicily, arrived in seven days from Rome. Being told that Galba ■■■■ retired ■■■■ rest, ■■■■ ran ■■■■ ■■■■ chamber, and having opened it in spite of the resistance of the chamberlains, informed him, " That ■■■■ Nero did not appear, though ■■■■ living ■■■■ that time, the army first, and then the people and ■■■■ of Rome, had declared Galba emperor : and, not long after, ■■■■ brought ■■■■ Nero ■■■■ dead. ■■■■ added, that he ■■■■ satisfied with the report, but ■■■■ and ■■■■ the dead body of the tyrant, before he would ■■■■ out." Galba ■■■■ greatly elevated by this intelligence ; and he encouraged the multitudes that ■■■■ attended at the door by communicating ■■■■ them, though the expedition with which it ■■■■ brought appeared incredible. But, ■■■■ days after, Titus Vinius, with many others, arrived from ■■■■ camp, and brought ■■■■ account of all the proceedings of ■■■■ senate. Vinius¹ was promoted to ■■■■ honourable employment ; while ■■■■ freedman had his ■■■■ changed from Icelus ■■■■ Marcianus, ■■■■ honoured with the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and ■■■■ attention paid ■■■■ than any of the other freedmen.

¹ Vinius was of a pretorian family, and had behaved with honour as governor of Gallia Narbonensis ; but when he became the favourite and first minister of the emperor of R. me, he soon made his

master obnoxious to the people, and ruined him ■■■■ The truth is, he was naturally of a bad disposition, and a man of no principles.

_____, Nymphidius Sabinus _____ the administration into his hands, _____ by slow _____ insensible steps, _____ greatest celerity. He _____ that Galba, _____ of his great _____ being _____ seventy-three, _____ able to make the journey _____ Rome, _____ carried in a litter. Besides, the forces there _____ been long inclined _____ him, and _____ they depended upon him only, considering him _____ their benefactor on _____ of the large gratuity he _____ promised, and Galba as their debtor. _____ therefore immediately commanded _____ colleague Tigellinus _____ give up _____ sword, _____ great entertainments, at which he received persons of consular dignity, and such _____ had commanded armies and provinces; yet _____ gave the invitation in _____ name of Galba. _____ likewise instructed many of the soldiers _____ suggest it _____ praetorian cohorts, that they should send a message _____ Galba, demanding that Nymphidius should be always their captain, and without a colleague. The readiness the _____ expressed to _____ his honour _____ authority, in calling him their benefactor, in going daily _____ their respects _____ his gate, and desiring that he would _____ upon him _____ propose and confirm every decree, wrought _____ a much higher pitch of insolence; insomuch that, in a little time he became _____ only obnoxious, but formidable to the very persons that paid their court _____ him. *When the consuls had charged the public _____ sengers with the decesses to be carried to the emperor, and had sealed the instruments with their seal, in order that the magistrates of the towns through which they were _____ pass, seeing their authority, might furnish them with carriages at every different stage for the greater expedition,* he resented it, that they had not made use of his seal, and employed his men _____ carry the despatches. It is said that he even had it under consideration whether he should not punish the consuls; but upon their apologising and begging pardon _____ affront, he _____ appeased. To ingratiate himself _____ people, _____ hinder them from despatching by torture such of Nero's _____ into their hands. A gladiator, named Spicillus, was put under _____ statues of Nero, and dragged about with them in the *forum* _____ he _____; Aponius, _____ of _____ informers, was extended _____ the ground, and waygons, loaded _____ stones, driven _____ him. They _____ many others in pieces, and _____ who _____ entirely innocent. So that Mauriscus, who had _____ only the character _____ one of the best men in Rome, but really _____ it, _____ day _____ the senate, _____ afraid they _____ soon _____ the loss of Nero."

Nymphidius, thus advancing in his hopes, _____ dis-pleased _____ being called the son of Caius Caesar, who reigned after Tiberius. _____ that prince, _____ his youth, _____ commerce with his mother, who _____ daughter of Calista, one of Caesar's freed-men, by a sempstress, and who was not wanting in personal charms. But it is evident _____ connection Caius _____ with her, _____ the birth of Nymphidius; and it was believed that _____ was _____ son _____ Martianus _____ gladiator, whom Nymphidia _____ love with, on _____ of his reputation in his way; besides _____ resemblance _____

gladiator ■■■■ a sanction to that opinion. Be that ■■■ it may, ■■■ acknowledged himself the son of Nymphidia, and yet insisted that he was ■■■ only person ■■■ deposed Nero. He aspired ■■■ ■■■ seat, ■■■ had ■■■ engines privately ■■■ work in Rome, ■■■ which ■■■ employed ■■■ friends, ■■■ some intriguing women, and some men of consular rank. He ■■■ also Gellianus, one ■■■ his friends, ■■■ Spain, ■■■ ■■■ spy upon ■■■ ■■■

■■■ death ■■■ Nero, ■■■ things went for ■■■ according ■■■ wish ; only the uncertainty what part Virginius ■■■ would act, gave him some uneasiness. Virginius commanded ■■■ powerful army, which ■■■ already conquered Vindex ; ■■■ ■■■ in subjection ■■■ very considerable part of the Roman empire : ■■■ ■■■ not only of Germany but Gaul, which was in great agitation, and ripe for a revolt. Galba, therefore, was apprehensive that he would listen ■■■ those who ■■■ ■■■ the imperial purple. Indeed, there was not ■■■ officer of greater name or reputation than Virginius, nor one who had more weight in the affairs of those times ; for he ■■■ delivered the empire both ■■■ tyranny and ■■■ Gallic ■■■ abode, however, by his first resolution, and reserved the appointment of emperor for the ■■■ ■■■ After Nero's death ■■■ certainly known, the troops again pressed ■■■ upon Virginius, and ■■■ of the tribunes drew his sword in the pavilion, and bade him receive either sovereign power or the steel ; but the menace had ■■■ effect. At last, after ■■■ Valens, who commanded one legion, had ■■■ the ■■■ of fidelity ■■■ Galba, and letters arrived from Rome with an ■■■ of the senate's decree, ■■■ persuaded his army, though with great difficulty, to acknowledge Galba. The new ■■■ having sent Flaccus Hordoonius ■■■ his successor, he received him in that quality, and delivered up ■■■ forces to him. He then went to meet Galba, who ■■■ on his journey to Rome, and attended him thither, without finding any marks either of his favour or resentment. ■■■ The ■■■ of this was, that Galba, on the ■■■ hand, ■■■ sidered him in ■■■ respectable ■■■ light to offer him any injury ; and, on the other hand, the emperor's friends, particularly Titus Vinus, ■■■ jealous of the progress he might make ■■■ his favour. But that officer ■■■ not aware, that, while he ■■■ preventing ■■■ promotion, ■■■ ■■■ co-operating with his good genius, in withdrawing ■■■ from ■■■ ■■■ and calamities in which other generals ■■■ engaged, and bringing him ■■■ ■■■ life of tranquillity ■■■ of days and peace.

■■■ ambassadors, which the senate sent to Galba, ■■■ him ■■■ Narbon, ■■■ city of Gaul. There they made their compliments, ■■■ advised him to show himself as ■■■ as possible ■■■ ■■■ people of Rome, who were very desirous to see him. He gave them a ■■■ reception, and entertained them in an agree ■■■ manner ■■■ though Nymphidius ■■■ sent him rich vessels, ■■■ other furniture suitable ■■■ ■■■ great prince, which he had taken ■■■ of Nero's palace, ■■■ ■■■ of none of it : everything ■■■ served up in dishes ■■■ his own. This ■■■ circumstance ■■■ ■■■ him honour, ■■■ ■■■ showed ■■■ ■■■ of superior sentiments, and entirely above

vanity. Titus Vinius, however, soon endeavoured to convince him, [REDACTED] superior sentiments, [REDACTED] modesty and simplicity of manners, betrayed [REDACTED] ambition for popular applause, which real greatness of [REDACTED] disdains; by which argument he prevailed with him [REDACTED] riches, and show all the imperial magnificence [REDACTED] entertainments. Thus the old man made it [REDACTED] in [REDACTED] would be entirely governed by Vinius.

[REDACTED] had a great passion for money [REDACTED]; [REDACTED] was [REDACTED] man more addicted to women. While he was yet very young, and making his [REDACTED] campaign under Calvisius Sabinus, [REDACTED] brought the wife of his general, [REDACTED] abandoned prostitute, one night into [REDACTED] p, [REDACTED] a soldier's habit, and lay with her in that part [REDACTED] it which the Romans call [REDACTED] *Principia*. For this, Caius Caesar [REDACTED] in prison; [REDACTED] was released upon the death of [REDACTED] prince. After [REDACTED] happening [REDACTED] sup with [REDACTED] Caesar, [REDACTED] stole a silver cup. The emperor being informed of it invited him [REDACTED] following [REDACTED] ing, [REDACTED] ordered the attendants to [REDACTED] with nothing but earthen vessels. This moderation of the emperor seemed [REDACTED] show that [REDACTED] [REDACTED] deserving only of ridicule, [REDACTED] serious [REDACTED]; but what he did afterwards, when he had [REDACTED] and his [REDACTED] command, served partly as the cause, and partly as the pretence, for many events of the [REDACTED] tragical kind.

Nymphidius, upon the return of Gellianus, whom he had sent [REDACTED] a spy [REDACTED] Galba, [REDACTED] informed that Cornelius Laco was appointed to the command of the guards and of the palace, and that [REDACTED] the power would be in the [REDACTED] of Vinius. This distressed him exceedingly, as he had [REDACTED] opportunity to attend the emperor, or speak to him in private; for his intentions were suspected, and all were on their guard. In this perplexity, he assembled the officers of the praetorian cohorts, and told them, that "Galba [REDACTED] indeed [REDACTED] man of mild and moderate sentiments; [REDACTED] that, instead of using [REDACTED] own judgment, [REDACTED] was entirely directed by Vinius and Laco, who made [REDACTED] use of their power. It [REDACTED] business, therefore," continued he, "before they insensibly establish themselves, and become sole masters, as Tigellinus was, to send ambassadors to the emperor in [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] the troops, and to represent to him, that if he [REDACTED] those two counsellors from his person, [REDACTED] will [REDACTED] much more agreeable reception amongst the Romans." Nymphidius perceiving that his officers [REDACTED] approve the proposal, but thought it absurd and preposterous to dictate the choice of friends to [REDACTED] emperor of his age, [REDACTED] they might [REDACTED] done to a boy who was [REDACTED] first tasting power, he [REDACTED] opted another scheme. In hopes of intimidating Galba, he pretended sometimes, [REDACTED] his letters, that there were discontents [REDACTED] dangers of an insurrection in Rome; sometimes, that Clodius Macer had laid an embargo [REDACTED] *Africa* [REDACTED] the corn ships. One while he said, the German legions were [REDACTED] motion, and another while that there [REDACTED] same rebellious disposition amongst those in Syria [REDACTED] Judaea. But [REDACTED] Galba did [REDACTED] give much [REDACTED] or credit [REDACTED] his advices, he resolved to usurp the imperial title himself, before he arrived:

though Clodius Celsus, the Antiochian, a friend of his, used his power to dissuade him; plainly, he did not think there was one family in Rome that would give him the title of Cæsar. Many others, however, made a jest of Galba; the bald head of Pontus, in particular, making merry with his bald head and his face, said, "The Romans think something extraordinary while he is at a distance, but as soon as he arrives, they will consider it a disgrace to have him as Cæsar."

Resolved, therefore, Nymphidius conducted his camp at midnight and proclaimed emperor. But Antonius Honoratus, the first tribune, assembled in the evening the troops under his command, and both himself and his friends for changing often in a short time, in pursuance of the dictates of reason, for making a better choice, but because he demon pushed them on from one treason to another. "*The crimes of Nero, indeed,*" said he, "*may justify my first choice. But has Galba murdered his own mother, or his wife? Or has he you ashamed of your emperor, by appearing as a fiddler or an actor on a stage?*" Yet not even these things brought us to abandon Nero; but Nymphidius first persuaded us that he had abandoned us, and he fled into Egypt. We then sacrifice Galba after Nero; and when we have destroyed the relation of Livia, the son of Agrippina, the son of Nymphidia the imperial throne? Or rather, after having taken possession of a detestable tyrant in Nero, shall we not show ourselves good and faithful guards of Galba?"

Upon this speech of the tribune, his acceded to the proposal. They applied also to their fellow-soldiers, and prevailed upon some of them to return to their allegiance. At the same time a loud shout was heard in the camp; and Nymphidius either believing (which is the account that some give) that his troops were calling him in order to proclaim him emperor, or else hastening to the insurrection, and such as were wavering, with lights to the camp; having in his hand a speech composed for him by Cingorius Varro, which he committed to memory, in order to pronounce it to the army. Seeing the gates shut, and a number of men in arms upon the wall, his confidence abated. However, advancing nearer, he asked them, "What they intended to do, and by whose command they were under arms?" They answered, one and all, "That they acknowledged no other emperor but Galba." Then pretending to be of their opinion, he applauded their fidelity, and that accompanied him to follow his example. The guard opening the gate, and suffering him to enter with a number of his people, a javelin was thrown at him, which Septimius, who was before, received upon his shield. But, others drawing their swords, he fled, and was pursued into a soldier's hut, where they despatched him. His body was dragged to the middle of the camp, where they laid it on a pile of faggots, and exposed it to public view the next day.

Nymphidius being thus taken off, Galba himself informed of it than he ordered such of his accomplices as were already de- themselves, to be put to death. Amongst them was Cingonius who composed the oration, and Mithridates of Pontus. In this emperor did not proceed according to the laws and customs of the Romans; nor was it indeed a popular measure to inflict capital punishment upon persons of eminence, without any form of trial, though they might deserve death. For the Romans, deceived, as it usually happens, by the report, expected another kind of government. What was it that they most ordered sent for the execution Petronius Turpilianus, a man of consular dignity, merely because he had been faithful to Nero. There was some pretence for taking Macer in Africa, by the order of Trebonianus, and Fonteius in Germany by Valens, because they were in arms, and had forces that he might be afraid of. But there was no reason why Turpilianus, a defenceless old man, should have a hearing, at least under a prince who should have preserved in his actions the moderation which was much affected.

When he was about 25 furlongs from the city, he found the way stopped by a disorderly parcel of seamen, who gathered about him on all sides.¹ These were persons whom Nero had formed into a legion, that they might be as soldiers. They met him on the road and have their establishment confirmed, and crowded the emperor much, that he could neither be seen nor heard by those who came to wait on him; for they insisted, in a clamorous manner, having legionary colours and quarters assigned them. Galba put them off to another time; but they considered that as a denial; and some of them even drew their swords: upon which he ordered the cavalry to fall upon them. They made no resistance, but fled with the utmost precipitation, and many of them were killed in their flight. It was considered as an inauspicious circumstance for Galba to enter the city amidst so much tumult and slaughter. And those who despised him before as weak and inactive through age, now looked upon him as an object of fear and hatred.

Besides, while he endeavoured to reform the extravagance and profusion with which money used to be given away by Nero, he missed the mark of propriety. When Canus, a celebrated performer on the flute, played to him one evening at court, after expressing the highest satisfaction at the excellence of his music, he ordered his purse to be brought, and taking out a few pieces of gold,² he gave them to Canus, telling him, at the same time, that this was a gratuity out of his own, not the public money. This the

¹ Dion Cassius tells us, that 7,000 of the disarmed multitude were cut to pieces on the spot; and others were committed to prison, where they lay till the death of Galba. Lib. lxi.

² Suetonius says, Galba gave him five hundred sesterces, and that there were

demerit of gold. This writer adds, that when his table, upon any extraordinary occasion, was more splendidly served than usual, he could not restrain his merriment and expressing his

money which Nero had given to persons pleased him on the stage, or in the *palastra*, he insisted with great rigour that it should be all returned, except a tenth part. And as persons of such dis- lives, who mind nothing but provision for the day, produce very little, he caused inquiry to be for all had bought anything from them, or received presents, obliged them to refund. The affair extending to great numbers of people, and seeming to have no end, it reflected disgrace upon the emperor, brought public envy on Vinus, because he made the emperor sordid and mean to others, while he pillaged the treasury in an insatiable manner, took whatever thought proper. short,

not the full ask, shallow streams
Declare the bottom near, draw your hand.

Vinus being Galba and infirm, freely favours of fortune, as only beginning, and yet, at same time, drawing to an end.

But aged emperor was greatly injured by Vinus, only through neglect or misapplication of things committed his trust, but by his condemning or defeating the salutary intentions of his master. This was the case with respect to punishing Nero's ministers. Some bad ones, it is true, were put to death, amongst whom Elius, Polycletus, Petinus, and Patrobius. The people expressed joy by loud plaudits, when these were led through the *forum* to the place of the execution, and called it a glorious and holy procession. But gods and men, they said, the punishment of Tigellinus, who suggested the very measures, and taught Nero all his tyranny. That worthy minister, however, had secured himself by great presents to Vinus, which were only of ill greater. Turpilianus, though obnoxious only because had not betrayed or his master, on of qualities, though guilty of no remarkable crime, was, notwithstanding, put to ; while the man who had made Nero unfit live, and, after he made him such, deserted and betrayed him, lived flourished : a proof that there nothing which Vinus would sell, no to despair who money. For there no sight which people of so passionately longed for, as that of Tigellinus carried to execution, and in the *circus* they continually it, till the emperor checked by an edict, importing that Tigellinus was in a deep consumption, which would destroy long, and that their sovereign entreated them not to turn government into a tyranny by needless severity.

The people were highly displeased ; but only laughed at them. Tigellinus offered sacrifice acknowledgment

1 Thus in the court of Galba appeared all the exorbitant Nero's reign. were equally grievous (says Tacitus) but not equally excused a prince of Galba's years and experience. He himself

the greatest integrity of heart ; but as the rapacity and other excesses of his ministers were imputed to him, he was no less hated than if he had them himself.

to the gods for his recovery, and provided a great entertainment :
 rose emperor's table, carouse
 Tigellinus, accompanied by his daughter, widow.
 Tigellinus drank her, and said, "I will cup worth
 250,000 drachmas you." At the same time he ordered his chief
 mistress her own necklace give it her.
 worth 150,000

From _____ time the _____ moderate of Galba's proceedings _____ misrepresented.¹ For instance, his lenity _____ Gauls, who had conspired with Vindex, _____ not escape _____. For it _____ believed that they had not gained _____ remission of tribute and the freedom of Rome from the emperor's indulgence, but that they _____ purchased them of Vinus. Hence the people had _____ general aversion _____ Galba's administration. As for the soldiers, though they _____ receive what _____ been promised them, they let it pass, hoping that, _____ they _____ that gratuity, they should certainly have _____ much as _____ given them. But when they began to murmur, _____ their complaints _____ brought _____ Galba, he said, _____ became _____ prince, "*That it was his custom to choose, not to buy his soldiers.*" This saying, however, being reported to the troops, filled them _____ the most deadly and irreconcilable hatred to Galba. For it seemed to them that he not only wanted to deprive them of the gratuity himself, but _____ precedent for future emperors.

The disaffection ■ the government that prevailed in Rome was as yet kept secret in some measure, partly because ■ remaining reverence for ■ presence of the emperor prevented the flame ■ sedition from breaking out, and partly for want of ■ open occasion ■ attempt a change. But the troops which ■ served under Virginius, and were ■ commanded by Flaccus, in Germany, thinking they deserved great things for the battle which they fought with Vindex, and finding that they obtained nothing, began ■ behave in a very refractory manner, and could not be appeased by their officers. The general himself they utterly despised, ■ well on account of his inactivity (for ■ the goat in a violent manner) as ■ experience in military affairs. One day, ■ some public games, ■ the tribunes and centurions, according ■ custom, ■ for ■ happiness of the emperor, the common soldiers murmured; and when the ■ repeated their good wishes, they answered, " ■ worthy."

The legions were under command of Tigellinus behaved with equal insolence; of which Galba's agents were apprehensive, that he was only a man of children, that brought him into contempt; he therefore formed a design to adopt some young man of noble birth, and declare him emperor. *Marcus Otho was of a*

1 Though the rest of Galba's conduct was not blameless, yet (according to Suetonius and Zonaras) he kept the soldiers to their duty: he punished with the utmost severity those who, by their false accusations, ~~had~~ or caused

the death of innocent persons; he delivered up to punishment such slaves as had borne witness against their masters; and he recalled those who had been punished by Nero under pretence of

family by no means obscure; but at the same time, he was more from his infancy for luxury and love of pleasure than most of the Roman youth. And, as Homer often calls Paris the lover of Helen, because he was nothing but a distinguished man, Nero was noted in Rome as the husband of Poppæa. This was the lady whom Nero fell in love with while he was wife to Crispinus; but retaining yet respect for his own wife, and reverence for his mother, he privately employed Otho to solicit her. For Otho's debauchery had recommended him to Nero as a friend and companion, and he had an agreeable way of rallying him upon what was his avarice of living.

We are told, that one day when Nero was perfuming himself with a very rich essence, he sprinkled a little of it upon Otho. Otho the emperor the day following, when suddenly gold and silver pipes opened on all sides of the apartment, and poured out essences for them in as much plenty as if it had been water. He applied to Poppæa, according to Nero's desire, and first proposed her for him, with the flattering idea of having an emperor for a lover; after which he persuaded her to leave her husband. But when he took her home as his own wife, he was so happy in having her, as miserable in the thought of sharing her with another. And Poppæa is said not to have been displeased with this jealousy; for it seems she refused to leave Nero when Otho was absent; whether it was that she studied to keep Nero's appetite from cloying, or whether (as they say) she did not choose to receive the emperor as a husband, but, in her wanton way, took pleasure in having him approach her as a gallant. Otho's life, therefore, was in great danger on account of that marriage; and it is astonishing, that the man who could sacrifice his wife and sister for the sake of Poppæa, should afterwards spare Otho.

Otho had a friend in Seneca; and it was he who persuaded Nero to send him out governor of Lusitania, upon the borders of the empire. Otho made himself agreeable to the inhabitants by his lenity; for he knew that this command was given him only as an honourable exile.¹ Upon Galba's revolt, he was the first governor of a province that came to him, and he carried with him all his gold and silver vessels he had, to be melted down and coined for his use. He likewise presented him with such of his treasures as he knew how to wait upon an emperor. He behaved, indeed, in all respects with great fidelity; and it appeared from the specimen he gave, that there was no department in the government which he had not talents. He accompanied him in his whole journey, and was many days in the emperor's carriage with him; during which time he had opportunity to show his services. Vinius, either by assiduity or presents; and as he always took care to leave him the first place, he was promoted by these means

¹ On this occasion the British was made:

Our Otho mentile sit quartilis erul honore
Uxoris junctus caperet esse suus.

having [REDACTED] second. Besides [REDACTED] there [REDACTED] nothing invidious in [REDACTED] station, [REDACTED] recommended himself by granting his favours [REDACTED] services without reward, and by [REDACTED] general affability and politeness. [REDACTED] took [REDACTED] pleasure in serving [REDACTED] officers of the army, and [REDACTED] governments [REDACTED] many of them, partly by applications [REDACTED] the emperor, [REDACTED] partly [REDACTED] Vinus and his freedmen, Icelus and Asiaticus, [REDACTED] had the chief influence at court.

Whenever Galba visited him, he complimented the company [REDACTED] guards [REDACTED] [REDACTED] duty with a piece of gold for each man ; thus practising upon and gaining the soldiers, [REDACTED] he seemed only to be doing honour [REDACTED] their [REDACTED]. When Galba was deliberating [REDACTED] choice of [REDACTED] successor, Vinus proposed Otho. Nor was this [REDACTED] disinterested overture, for Otho had promised to marry Vinus's daughter, after Galba had adopted him, and appointed him his [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] Galba always showed that he preferred the good of the public [REDACTED] any private considerations : and in this [REDACTED] he sought not for the man who might be most agreeable to himself, but [REDACTED] who promised to be the greatest blessing to the Romans. Indeed it can hardly be supposed that he would have appointed Otho heir even to his private patrimony, when he knew how expensive and profuse he was, and that he was loaded with a debt of five millions of drachmas. He therefore gave Vinus [REDACTED] patient hearing, without returning him any answer, and put off the affair to another time. However as he declared himself consul, and chose Vinus for his colleague, it was supposed that he would appoint a successor at the beginning of the next year, and the soldiers [REDACTED] that Otho might be the man.

But while Galba delayed the appointment, and continued deliberating, the army mutinied in Germany. *All the troops throughout the empire hated Galba, because they had not received the promised donations,* but those in Germany had [REDACTED] particular apology [REDACTED] their aversion. They alleged, " That Virginius Rufus, their general, [REDACTED] been removed with ignominy, and that the Gauls, who had fought against [REDACTED] them, [REDACTED] the only people that [REDACTED] rewarded ; whilst all [REDACTED] who had [REDACTED] joined Vindex were punished, and Galba, [REDACTED] he had obligations [REDACTED] but him for the imperial diadem, honoured his memory with sacrifices and public libations."

Such speeches [REDACTED] this [REDACTED] common in the camp, when the calends of January [REDACTED] [REDACTED] hand, and Flaccus assembled the soldiers, that they might take the customary oath of fealty to the emperor. But, instead of that, they overturned and broke [REDACTED] pieces the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Galba, [REDACTED] having taken an oath of allegiance to the senate and people of Rome, they retired to their tents. Their officers, [REDACTED] now [REDACTED] apprehensive [REDACTED] anarchy [REDACTED] rebellion, and the following speech [REDACTED] [REDACTED] to have [REDACTED] made on the [REDACTED] " What are we doing, my fellow-soldiers ? [REDACTED] neither appoint another emperor, nor keep [REDACTED] allegiance [REDACTED] the present, [REDACTED] if [REDACTED] renounced [REDACTED] only Galba, but every other sovereign, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] obedience. [REDACTED] true, [REDACTED] Flaccus is no more than the [REDACTED] of Galba. Let [REDACTED] quit him. But [REDACTED] distance of [REDACTED] day's march only,

there in Vitellius, commands in Lower Germany, whose was censor and thrice consul, and in a colleague to the emperor. And though his poverty may be a circumstance for which some people may despise him, is a strong proof of his probity and greatness of mind. Let us go and choose a person for that high dignity than the Spaniards and Lusitanians."

approved and others rejected his motion. The standard-bearers, however, marched off privately carried news to Vitellius that night. He found a table, giving entertainment to officers. The spread through and Fabius Valens who commanded of legions, next day the of a party of horse, and Vitellius emperor. For some days before, he seemed to dread the weight of sovereign power, and totally to decline it: but now, being fortified with indulgences of table, which he sat down at mid-day, he went out and accepted of Germanicus, which the army conferred upon him though he refused that of Cæsar. Soon after Flaccus's troops forgot the republican oaths they taken to the senate and people, and swore allegiance to Vitellius. Thus Vitellius proclaimed emperor in Germany.

As Galba informed of the insurrection there, he resolved, without further delay, to proceed to the adoption. knew of his friends were for Dolabella, and a still greater number for Otho; but, without being guided by the judgment of either party, or making the least mention of his design, he suddenly for Piso the son of Crassus and Scribonia, who were put to death by Nero; a young man formed by nature for every virtue and distinguished for modesty and sobriety. In pursuance of his intentions, he went down with him the camp, to give him the title of Cæsar, and declare his emperor: but he sooner of his palace, than very inauspicious presages appeared. And in the camp when he delivered a speech to the army, reading some parts and pronouncing others from memory, the claps of thunder and flashes of lightning, the violent rain that fell, and darkness that covered both the camp and the city, plainly announced that the gods did not of the adoption, and that the would be unfortunate. countenances of the soldiers too and lowering, because there no donation occasion.¹

As to Piso, all that were present could not but wonder, that so far as they could conjecture his voice and look, was disconcerted with so great an honour, though receive without sensibility.² On the contrary, Otho's there appeared strong resentment, of the impatience

¹ tells us that a little of liberty would have gained the and that Galba suffered by an

able attention to the purity of ancient

² was an excellent speech which Tacitus ascribes to Galba on this occasion.

with [] bore the disappointment of his hopes. For his failing [] honour which he [] been thought worthy [] aspire to, and which [] lately [] himself very [] attaining, [] a proof of Galba's [] ill-intentions [] him. He was not, therefore, without apprehensions of what might befall him afterwards; and dreading Galba, execrating Piso, and full of indignation against Vinus, he retired with this confusion of passions [] heart. But the Chaldeans and other diviners, whom [] had always about him, would not suffer him entirely [] give up [] hopes, [] abandon his design. In particular he relied [] Ptolemy, because he had formerly predicted that he should [] by the hand of Nero, but survive him, and live to ascend the imperial throne. For, as the former part of the prophecy proved true, he thought he had [] despair of the latter. None, however, exasperated him [] against Galba than [] who condoled with him in private, and pretended that he [] been treated with great ingratitude. Besides, there [] a number of people, that had flourished under Tigellinus and Nymphidius, and [] lived in poverty and disgrace, who, to recommend themselves to Otho, expressed great indignation [] the slight he had suffered, and urged [] to revenge it. Amongst these were Veturius, who [] *optio*, or centurion's deputy, and Barbius, who was *lasserarius*, [] one of those that carry the word from the tribunes [] the centurions.¹ Onomastus, one of Otho's freedmen, joined them, and went from troop to troop, corrupting some with money, and others with promises. Indeed, they were corrupt enough already, and [] only an opportunity to put their designs in execution. If they had [] been extremely disaffected, they could not have been prepared for a revolt in an short [] space of time as [] of four days, which was all that passed between the adoption and the assassination; for Piso and Galba [] both slain the sixth day after, which [] the fifteenth of January. Early in the morning Galba sacrificed in the palace [] presence of his friends. Umbricius, the diviner, no [] took the entrails [] his hands than he declared, not in enigmatical expressions, but plainly, that there [] signs of great troubles and of [] that threatened immediate danger to the []. Thus Otho was almost delivered [] to Galba by the hand of the gods; for he stood behind the emperor, listening with great attention [] the observations made by Umbricius. These put him in great confusion, [] fears were discovered by his change of colour, when his freedman Onomastus [] and [] him that the architects [] come, [] waited for him [] house. This was the signal for Otho's [] ing [] soldiers. [] pretended, therefore, [] he had bought [] house, which these architects were to examine, and going down by [] [] Tiberius's palace, [] that part of the forum

¹ The way of setting the nightly guard was by a *torrens*, or tally, with a per [] inscription, [] use

centurion to another, quite through the army till it came again to the tribune who first delivered it.

where stands ■■■ gilded pillar which ■■■■ great roads in Italy.¹

■ received him, ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ not ■ have more than twenty-three. ■ that, though ■ nothing of ■ dastardly spirit ■■ delicacy ■ his constitution ■■ effeminacy ■ his life ■■ ; but, on the ■■■■, was firm and resolute in time of danger; yet, ■ occasion, he ■■ intimidated and wanted ■ retire. ■■■ would ■ suffer it. They surrounded ■ chair² with ■■ swords, and insisted on his proceeding to the ■■■■. Mean- ■■■■ the ■■■■ to make haste, often declaring that ■■■ ■■■ man. There were some who overheard him, and they rather wondered ■ the hardness of the attempt with ■ small ■ party ■■ disturbed themselves about ■■ consequences. ■■■ carried through the forum, about the ■■■ number as ■■ first joined him, and others afterward by three or four ■■ a time. The whole party ■■ saluted him Caesar, and conducted ■■■■ camp, flourishing their swords before him. Martialis, the tribune, who kept guard that day, knowing nothing (as they ■■ us) of the conspiracy, ■■ surprised and terrified ■ so unexpected ■ sight, and suffered them ■ enter. ■■■ Otho ■■ within the camp, lie ■■ with ■ resistance, for the conspirators gathered about such as ■■ strangers to the design, and ■■ it their business ■ explain it to them; upon which they joined them by ■■ or two ■■ time, ■■ out of fear, and afterwards out of choice.

The news ■■ immediately carried ■ Galba, while the diviner yet attended, and had the ■■■■ ■ his hands; so that they who had been ■■ incredulous in matters of divination, and even held it in contempt before, were astonished at the divine interposition in the accomplishment of this presage. People of all ■■■■ crowding ■■ the forum to the palace, Vinius ■■ Laco, with some of the emperor's freedmen, stood before him with drawn swords ■■ him. Piso went out to speak to the life-guards, and Marius Celsus, a man of great courage and honour, ■■■■ ■■■■ the Illyrian legion, which lay in Vipsanius's portico.

Galba ■■ inclined ■ go out to the people. Vinius endeavoured ■■■■ him from it; but Celsus and Laco encouraged him to go on, and expressed themselves with some sharpness against Vinius. Meantime ■■■■ report prevailed that Otho was slain ■■■■ camp; soon after which Julius Atticus, a soldier of some note amongst ■■ guards, came up, and crying ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ had ■■ Caesar's enemy, ■■■■ way through ■■ crowd, ■■ showed ■■ bloody ■■■■. The emperor, fixing ■■ eye upon him, said, "■■■ gave you orders?" He answered, "My allegiance and the oath I had taken;" and ■■ people expressed

¹ This pillar was set up by Augustus, when he took the ■■■■ water ■■ inspection, and had the distance ■■■■ ■■■■ it.

² Suetonius says, he got ■■ a woman's sedan, in order to be the ■■■■ concealed.

their approbation in loud plaudits. Galba [] a sedan chair, with a design to sacrifice to Jupiter, and show himself to the people. [] no sooner entered the forum than the rumour changed [] the wind, and [] met him, that Otho [] of [] camp. On this occasion, as [] was natural amongst a multitude of people, some called out [] him to advance, and [] retire; [] courage, and some to be cautious. His chair was tossed backward and forward, as in a tempest, and ready to be overset, when there appeared [] a party of horse, and then another of foot, issuing from the [] of Paulus, [] crying out, "Away with this private man!" Numbers were then running about, [] separate by flight, [] to possess themselves of the porticos and eminences [] the forum, [] it were to enjoy some public spectacle. Atilius Virgilio beat down one of Galba's statues, which served [] signal for hostilities, and they attacked the chair on all sides with javelins. As those did [] despatch him, they advanced sword in hand. In [] time of trial [] stood up in his defence but [] man, who, indeed, amongst [] many [] sons, was the only [] that did honour [] the Roman empire. This was Sempronius Densus,¹ a centurion, who without any particular obligations to Galba, and only from a regard to honour and the law, stood forth to defend the chair. First of all he lifted up the vine-branch, with which the centurions chastise such as deserve stripes, and then called out [] the soldiers who were pressing on, and commanded them to spare the emperor. They fell upon him, notwithstanding, and he drew his sword and fought a long time, [] he received a stroke in the ham, which brought him to the ground.

The chair was overturned at what is called the Curtian lake, and Galba tumbling over of it, they ran to despatch him. At the same time he presented his throat, and said, "Strike, if it be for the good of Rome." He received many strokes upon his arms and legs, for he had a coat of mail upon his body. According [] accounts, it [] Camurius, a soldier of the fifteenth legion, that despatched him, though [] say it [] Terentius, [] Arcadius,² and others Fabius Fabulus. They add that when Fabius had cut off his head, [] wrapped it up in the skirt of his garment, because it was [] that [] could take [] of it. His associates, however, would [] suffer him [] conceal it, but insisted that he should let the world see what [] exploit he [] performed; [] therefore fixed [] upon [] point [] spear, and swinging about [] head of a venerable old man, and a mild prince, who was both *Pontifex Maximus* consul, [] (like the Bacchanals with [] head [] Pentheus), brandishing his spear that [] dyed with [] that had trickled from it.

When [] head [] presented to Otho, he cried out, "This is nothing, my fellow soldiers; show me the head of Piso." []

¹ In the Greek text [] is *Indidrus*; but that text in [] life of Galba is extremely corrupt

[] Tacitus; [] Virgilio instead of *Servilio* above.

[] In Tacitus, *Terentius*, [] of Fabius

brought long after ; for that young prince being wounded, and pursued by Marcus, was killed by him at the temple of Vesta. Vinus also put to the sword, though he himself an accomplice in the conspiracy, and protested it was against Otho's orders that he suffered. However, they head, that Laco, and carrying them Otho, reward : For, as Archilochus says :

Bring seven warriors only to your tent,
Thousands of us kill'd them.

So in case many who had no share in action, bathed their hands swords in blood, showing them Otho, petitioned for their reward. It appeared afterwards, from petitions given in, that number of them was 120 ; and Vitellius, having searched them out, put them all death. Celsus also coming to the camp, many accused him of having soldiers stand by Galba, and the bulk of the army insisted that he suffer. But Otho being desirous to him, yet afraid of contradicting them, them, "He not choose have him executed so soon, because he had several important questions to put to him." He ordered him, therefore, be kept in chains, and delivered him to persons in whom he could best confide.

The immediately assembled ; and, if they were become different men, or other gods to swear by, they took the oath to Otho, which he had before taken to Galba, but had kept ; and they gave him the titles of Cæsar and Augustus, while the bodies of those that had been beheaded lay their consular robes in the *forum*. As for the heads, the soldiers, after they had no farther for them, sold that of Vinus his daughter for 2,500 *drachmas*. Piso's was given to his wife Verania, at her request ;¹ and Galba's to the servant of Patrobius and Vitellius,² who, after they had treated it with the utmost insolence and outrage, threw it a place called *Sestertium*,³ where the bodies of those are that put death by the emperors. Galba's corpse carried away by Helvidius Priscus, with Otho's permission, and buried in night by his freedman Argius.

Such the history of Galba ; a who, in the points of family and fortune distinctly considered, was exceeded by few Romans, and who, in the union of both superior all. He had lived, too, in great honour, and with the best reputation, under five emperors ; and it rather by his character than by force of arms that he deposed Nero. As to the rest, who conspired against the tyrant, of them were thought unworthy of imperial diadem by people, and others though themselves unworthy. But invited to accept it, and only followed of

¹ *Livius* (lib. 1.) says she purchased it. *Plutarch* had put Patrobius to death ; but we know not why the servant of Vitellius should desire it : that Galba's remains with a *strepitus*.

² *Livius* says, it was so called, *omnis* of us, as being half from the city.

who [] to that high dignity. Nay, when [] gave [] of [] Vindex, [] which before [] considered only as a civil war, because a [] princely [] then [] the [] of it. So that he [] much want [] empire as the empire wanted him : and [] principles [] attempted [] govern a people corrupted by Tigellinus [] Nymphidius, [] Scipio, Fabricius, and Camillus governed the [] of their times. Notwithstanding his great [] he [] chief worthy of ancient Rome, through [] military department ; but, in the civil administration, [] delivered himself [] to Vinus, [] Laco, [] to his enfranchised slaves, who [] everything in [] manner [] Nero had [] all [] his insatiable vermin. The consequence of this was, that no man regretted him [] emperor, though almost [] were moved with pity at [] fate.

OTHO.

THE [] emperor [] early [] the morning to [] Capitol, and sacrificed ; after which he ordered Marius Celsus to be brought before him. [] received that officer with great marks of his regard, and desired him rather to forget the cause of his confinement than to remember his release. Celsus neither showed any [] in his acknowledgments, nor any want of gratitude. He said, " The very charge brought against him bore witness to his character ; since [] accused only of having been faithful [] Galba, [] whom he had [] received any personal obligations." All who were pre[] the audience admired both the emperor and Celsus, and the soldiers in particular testified their approbation.¹

Otho made a mild and gracious speech [] the senate. The remaining time of his consulship he divided with Virginus Rufus, and [] who [] been appointed to that dignity by Nero and Galba, to enjoy [] in their course. Such [] respectable for their [] and character, he promoted to the priesthood : and [] those senators who had been banished by Nero, and recalled by Galba, he restored all their goods [] estates that he found unsold. [] first and best of the citizens, who had before [] considered [] as a man, but dreaded him as a fury [] destroying demon [] suddenly seized [] government, now entertained more pleasing hopes from [] promising a beginning.

¹ Otho exempted the soldiers from the tax which they had paid the centurions for fire-arms and immunities : but at the same time promised to satisfy the centurions, on all reasonable occasions,

out of his own revenue. In consequence of these favours, the fourth part of a legion was often absent, and the troops [] daily more and more corrupted.

nothing gave the people a general so high a pleasure or contributed much to gain their affections, as his punishing Tigellinus. It is true, he long suffered under the weight of punishment, which the Romans demanded as a public debt, as a complication of his distempers. These, together with his infamous connections with the houses of prostitutes, into which his passions drew him, though almost in the arms of death, were softened by his thinking part of his punishment as the greatest of punishments, and worse than many deaths. He was a pain to the common people, that he should see the light of the sun, when so many excellent men had been deprived of it through his means. He fled to his country house at Sinuessa, where he had an anchor, ready to carry him on occasion to any distant country. He went to him there; but he attempted to bribe the messenger with large sums to suffer him to escape. When this had no effect, he gave him the money notwithstanding; and desiring only that he might indulge a few days, he shaved himself he took the razor and cut his own throat.

It was this just satisfaction that Otho gave the people, it was an agreeable circumstance that he remembered none of his private quarrels. To gratify the populace, he suffered them also first to give him in the theatres the name of Nero, and he opposed those who erected publicly the statue of that emperor. Nay, Claudius Rufus tells us that, in the letters with which the couriers sent to Spain, he joined the name of Nero to that of Otho. But perceiving that the nobility was offended, he made use of no more.

After his government was thus established, the prætorian cohorts gave him small trouble, by exhorting him to beware of many persons of rank, and to forbid them the court; whether it was their affection made them really apprehensive for him, or whether it was only a colour for raising commotions and seditions. One day the emperor himself had Crispinus order to bring the seventeenth cohort from Ostia, and in order to do it without interruption, that officer began to prepare for it as soon as it grew dark, and to pack up the soldiers in waggons. Upon which, some of the most turbulent cried out, that Crispinus was doing with no good intention, that the senate had some design against the government, and that the arms were going to carry were to be made use of against Caesar, for him. This notion soon spread, and exasperated numbers: some ran to the waggons, while others killed the centurions who endeavoured to quell the mutiny, Crispinus himself. Then the whole party armed, and exhorting each other to go to the emperor's assistance, they marched straight to Rome. Being there about eighty in number, they were met in the evening, they entered the palace, saying, This was the time to crush

1 In the close of the day on which he was assassinated, he put Lælius and Iulius to death.

2 This was a man of

senior dignity and succeeded Galba in the government of Spain was not called Claudius but Claudius Rufus.

all Caesar's enemies at once. The city was greatly alarmed, expecting to be plundered immediately. The palace, too, was in the utmost confusion, and Otho himself in unspeakable distress. he was under fear concern for the senators, while they were afraid of him; and he saw they kept their eyes fixed him in and extreme consternation; *some having even brought their to supper.* He principal officers of the guards to go and speak the soldiers and endeavour appease them, and at the same time sent out his guests at her door. They made when soldiers rushed into room, and asked what was become of of Caesar. The emperor then, rising from couch, many arguments satisfy them, by entreaties and prevailed upon with difficulty .

Next day, having presented the soldiers 1,250 drachmas man, entered . On this occasion troops as in general well affected to his government; the same he them there were designing amongst them, by their cabals brought his moderation fidelity both into question: these, he said, deserved their resentment, and he hoped they would assist him in punishing them. They applauded his speech, and him to chastise whatever persons he thought proper; but he pitched upon only capital punishment, whom no man could possibly regret, then to palace.

Those who had conceived an affection for Otho, and placed confidence in him, admired this change in his conduct. But others thought it no than piece of policy which the times necessarily required, he assumed popular behaviour on of the impending war. For he doubted intelligence that Vitellius had taken the title of and all ensigns of power, and couriers daily arrived with news of continual additions to his party. Other messengers also arrived, with that forces in Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Mysia, with their generals, declared for Otho. And days after, he received obliging letters from Mucianus *Vespasian*, who both commanded numerous armies, one Syria, and other *Judea*.

 with intelligence, he wrote Vitellius, advising not aspire things above his rank, and promised, in case desisted, to supply him liberally with money, a city which might spend his days in pleasure and repose. Vitellius at first gave an , which ridicule tempered civility. afterwards, being both thoroughly exasperated, they other in style of bitterest invective. reproaches were groundless, it was absurd one to insult other with what might with equal justice be objected to . For charges consisted of prodigality, effeminacy, incapacity war, their former poverty and immense debts: such articles it is to say which of them had advantage

the stories of prodigies apparitions that time, many of them were founded upon reports could be traced to the author. In the capital there was a Victory mounted upon a chariot, and numbers of people held the reins out of her hands, as if she had lost the power. And in the forum of the Tiber, the statue of Julius Cæsar turned from west to east, without either earthquake or whirlwind move it. A circumstance which is said likewise have happened when Vespasian openly took upon him the direction of the city. The people of the Tiber, too, considered by the populace. It was a time, indeed, when rivers usually overflow their banks; but the flood never rose so high before, was so ruinous in its effects; for now it laid great part of the city under water, particularly the corn market, and caused a famine which continued many days.

At this time was brought that Cecina Valens, who Vitellius, had seized the passes of the Alps. And in Rome Dolabella who of an illustrious family, was suspected by the guards of some disloyal design. Otho, either fearing him, or other whom he could influence, gave him Aquinum, assurances of friendly treatment. When the emperor came to select the officers that should attend him in his march, he pointed Lucius, the brother of Vitellius, to be of the number, who either promoting or lowering him in point of rank. He took also particular care of the mother and wife of Vitellius, and endeavoured to put them in a situation where they had nothing to fear. The government of the city he gave to Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian; either with an intention to do honour to Nero (for he had formerly given him that appointment, and Galba had deprived him of it,) or else to show his affection to Vespasian by promoting his brother.

Otho himself stopped at Brixillum, a town in Italy near the Po, and ordered the army to march under the conduct of his lieutenants, Marius Celsus, Suetonius Paulinus, Gallus and Spurina, officers of great reputation. But they could not pursue the plan of operations they had formed, by reason of the obstinacy and disorderly behaviour of the soldiers, who declared that they had made Otho their general, and they would be commanded by him only. The enemy's troops were under much better discipline; they, too, were refractory and disobedient to their officers, and the same. Yet they were seen service, and accustomed to fatigue; whereas Otho's army had been used to idleness, their manner of living quite different from that in the field. Indeed, they had spent much of their time in public spectacles, and the entertainments of the theatre, and were in a degree of insolence. They pretended to be unable to perform the services they were ordered upon, but affected to be above them. Spurina, who attempted to use compulsion, was in danger of being killed by them. They spared no manner of abuse, calling him traitor, and telling him that he was he who ruined the affairs of

Cæsar, purposely missed the surest opportunities. At night intoxicated with liquor at his tent, he demanded discharge. "For they had to go," they said, "to Cæsar himself."

The emperor, however, Spurius with it, received the insult these troops met with at Placentia. Those of Vitellius, the walls, and ridiculed Otho's men who appointed to defend them; calling them players and dancers, fit only to attend the Pythian and Olympic games; fellows who knew nothing of war, who had not even made one campaign, who were swollen up with pride merely because they had cut off the head of a poor man (meaning Galba); wretches that durst not look in his face, or stand anything near an open battle. They, with these reproaches, and with a view to revenge, that they threw themselves at Spurius's feet, and begged of him command and employ them in whatever service he thought proper, assuring that there was neither danger nor labour. They would decline. After this, the enemy made a vigorous attack upon the town, and piled their battering engines with all their force; but Spurius's men repulsed them with great slaughter, and by that means kept possession of one of the most respectable and flourishing towns in Italy.

It must be observed of Otho's officers in general, that they were obliging in their behaviour both to cities and private persons than those of Vitellius. Cecina, one of the latter, had nothing popular either in his address or his figure. He was of a gigantic and most uncouth appearance; for he wore breeches and long sleeves in the manner of the Gauls, even while his standard Roman, and whilst he gave his instructions to Roman officers. His wife followed him on horseback, in a rich dress, and attended by a select party of cavalry. Fabius Valens, the other general, had a passion for money, which was not to be satisfied by any plunder from the enemy, or exactions and contributions from the allies. Inasmuch that he was believed to proceed more slowly for the sake of collecting gold as he went, and therefore was not up at the first action. Some, indeed, Cecina of hastening to give battle before the arrival of Valens, in order that the victory might be his; and, besides other less faults, they charged him not only with attacking at an unreasonable time, but with maintaining combat so gallantly he ought to have done all which nearly ruined the affairs of his party.

Cecina, after his repulse at Placentia, marched against Cremona, another rich and great city. In the meantime Annius Gallus, who was going to join Spurius at Placentia, with intelligence by the way that he was victorious, and that the siege was raised. He was informed at the same time that Cremona was in danger. He hurried his forces thither, and encamped very near the enemy. Afterwards other troops brought in reinforcements. Cecina posted a strong body of his army under cover of some woods and thickets. After which, he ordered his cavalry to advance, and the enemy

attacked them, to give way by degrees, and retire, till they had drawn them [] ambushade. But [] being informed [] intention by [] deserters, advanced with his best cavalry against Cecina's troops; and, upon their retreating, he pursued [] much caution [] surrounded [] corps [] lay [] amidst. Having [] put them in confusion, he [] legions from the camp: [] appears, that if they had [] in time support [] horse, Cecina's [] army [] been cut [] pieces. But, [] advanced very slowly,¹ [] censured for having [] precaution than [] a general [] character. Nay, [] soldiers accused [] of treachery, [] deavoured [] incense Otho against him, insisting that [] victory [] hands, [] that if it [] complete, it was owing entirely [] the mismanagement of their generals. O [] much believe [] representations, as he [] to appear [] disbelieve them. He therefore [] his brother [] to the army, with Proculus [] captain of his guard; Titianus [] in appearance, and Proculus in reality. Celsus and Paulinus had [] of friends [] counsellors, but [] the least authority in the direction of affairs.

The enemy, too, [] without their dissatisfactions and disorder, particularly amongst [] forces of Valens. For when they were informed of what happened at [] ambushade, they expressed their indignation that their general did not put [] their power to be there, that they might have used their endeavours to save [] many brave men who perished in that action. They were even inclined [] despatch him; but having pacified them with much difficulty, he decamped and joined Cecina.

In [] meantime Otho came to the [] at Bedriacum, a small [] near Cremona, and there [] council of [] Proculus and Titianus [] opinion, "That he ought [] give battle, while the army retained those high spirits with which the late victory [] inspired them, [] not suffer that ardour [] cool, [] till Vi- [] came in person from Gaul." But Paulinus was against it. "The enemy," [] he, "have received all their troops, [] no further preparations to [] for the combat; [] Otho will have [] and Pannonia forces as numerous as those [] has already, if [] wait [] own opportunity, instead [] giving one to [] enemy. And certainly [] now has, if with their small numbers they have [] much ardour, [] not fight with [] but greater spirit when they [] their numbers so much increased. Besides, [] gaining of time makes [] us, because we have everything in abundance, [] delays [] greatly [] Cecina and [] colleague for necessities, because they lie [] an enemy's country."

¹ Tacitus tells us, that Paulinus was naturally slow and irresolute. On this [] he charges him with two errors. The first was, that, instead of advancing immediately to the charge, and supporting

his cavalry, [] away the time to [] up the [] the second, that [] but avail himself of the disorder of the enemy but wounded much too early a retreat.

Celsus supported the opinion of Paulinus. Gallus attend, because he had received some hurt by a horse, under therefore wrote him, Gallus advised precipitate matters, but for from Mysia, which was already the way. Otho, however, would not be guided by these counsels, and opinion of those prevailed, hazarding a battle immediately. Different indeed, alleged for this resolution. The most prominent is, prætorian cohorts, which composed emperor's guards, coming what real was, longed to from it, return the ease, company, public diversions of Rome; and therefore they could restrained their eagerness for a battle, for they imagined that they overpower the enemy at the charge. Besides, Otho longer to support himself a suspense; such aversion thoughts of danger dissipation effeminacy given him! Overburdened then by cares, he hastened free himself from their weight; he covered his eyes, and leaped down the precipice; he committed all at once fortune. Such is the account given of the by the Secundus, who was Otho's secretary.

Others say, that the two parties were much inclined lay down their arms, and unite in choosing an emperor out of the best gene- they had; or, if they could not agree upon it, to leave the election to the. Nor is it improbable, as the two who called emperors neither of them men of reputation, that the experienced and prudent part of the soldiers should form such design; they could not but reflect how unhappy and dreadful thing it would to plunge themselves into the same calamities, which the Romans could not bring upon each other without aching hearts, in quarrels of Sylla and Marius, of Cæsar and Pompey: and for what but provide an empire minister insatiable appetite and drunkenness of Vitellius, to the luxury and debaucheries of Otho? These considerations supposed have induced Celsus endeavour to gain time, hopes that might compromised without the sword; while Otho, of fear such an agreement, hastened the battle.

In meantime he returned to Brixillum,¹ which certainly was an additional error; for by that step he deprived the combatants of the reverence and emulation which his presence might have inspired, took considerable limb from the body of the army, I mean of best and most active men, horse and foot, body-guard. There happened about time a contre upon the Po, Cecina's troops endeavoured by a bridge that river, and to prevent it. The latter ineffectual, put a quantity of torches covered

1 It was debated in council, whether the emperor should be present to the action, or not. Marcus Celsus and Paulinus dared not vote for it, but they

should have inclined to expose his person. He therefore retired to Brixillum, which was a circumstance that contributed to his defeat.

and pitch into some boats, were by upon the enemy's work. smoke, and afterwards a bright arose; upon which Cecina's terrified they leaped into the river, boats, were entirely exposed to their enemies, laughed awkward distress.

The German troops, however, Otho's gladiators in a island of the Po, and killed a considerable number of them. Otho's army thence in Bedriacum, resenting this affront, insisted being led out to battle. Accordingly Proculus marched, and pitched camp the distance of 50 furlongs Bedriacum. But chose ground in a very unskilful; for, though it in the spring season, and the country afforded many and rivulets, army was distressed for days. Proculus marching against the enemy, who lay than 100 furlongs off: but Paulinus would not agree to it. He said, they ought keep the post they had taken, rather fatigue first, and then immediately engage who could arm and put themselves in order of battle at their leisure, while they were making such a march with all the encumbrance of baggage and. The generals disputed the point, till a Numidian horseman came with letters from Otho, ordering them to make no longer delay, but proceed to the attack without losing a moment's time. They then decamped of course, and went to enemy. The news of their approach threw Cecina into great confusion; and immediately quitting his works and post upon the river, repaired the camp, where he found of the soldiers armed, and word already given by Valens.

During time that the infantry were forming, the of the cavalry directed to skirmish. At that moment a report spread, from what we cannot tell, amongst Otho's van, that Vitellius's officers were coming over their party. As soon, therefore, as they approached, they saluted them a friendly manner, calling them their fellow soldiers. But instead receiving the appellation, they answered with a furious and hostile shout. The consequence was, that the persons who made compliment were dispirited, and the suspected them of. This the first thing that disconcerted Otho's troops, for by time the enemy had charged. Besides, they could preserve order; the intermixture of baggage, and of ground, preventing any regular movement. For the ground was so full ditches and other inequalities, that they forced break their ranks and wheel about avoid them, and could only fight in parties. There but legions, one Vitellius's called *devourer*, and one of Otho's the *snare-warrior*, which could disentangle themselves from the gain open plain. These engaged in a regular battle, fought a long time. Otho's men were vigorous and brave, but they seen so much one before this; on the other hand, of Plautus had much experience in the field, but they were old, and their strength decaying

Otho's legion coming on with great fury, mowed down the ranks, [] eagle. The enemy, filled with [] resentment, advanced [] chastise them, slew Orphidius, who commanded [] legion, and took several standards. A [] gladiators, [] had [] reputation of being [] fellows, and [] at close fighting, *Alphenus Varus brought up [] Batavians, [] came from an island formed by the Rhine, and [] cavalry [] Germany.* A few [] the gladiators made head against them, but the greatest part fled to the river, [] falling [] with some of the enemy's infantry that [] posted there, [] all [] in pieces. But [] behaved [] ill that day as the praetorian bands. They did [] wait [] receive the enemy's charge, and in their flight they [] through the troops that [] yet stood their ground, [] put [] in disorder. Nevertheless, many of Otho's men [] [] quarter where they fought, and opened a way through the victorious enemy to their camp. [] Proculus and Paulinus took another way; for they dreaded [] soldiers, who already blamed their generals for [] loss of [] day.

Annius Gallus received into the city [] the scattered parties, [] endeavoured [] encourage them by assurances that the advantage upon [] whole [] equal, and that their troops had the superiority in many parts of the field. But Marius Celsus assembled the principal officers, and desired them to consider of measures that might [] their country. "After such an expense of Roman blood," said he, "Otho himself, if he has a patriotic principle, would not tempt fortune any more; since Cato and Scipio, in refusing to submit to Cæsar after the battle of Pharsala, are accused of having unnecessarily sacrificed the lives of so many brave men in Africa, notwithstanding that they fought for the liberties of their country. Fortune, indeed, is capricious, and all [] are liable [] by her inconstancy, yet good men have [] advantage which [] deprive them of, [] that is, [] avail themselves of their reason in whatever may befall them." These arguments prevailed [] officers, and [] sounding the private [] they found [] desirous of peace. Titianus himself [] of opinion that they ought [] ambassadors to [] for a coalition. In pursuance of which, Celsus and [] charged with [] mission to Cecina and Valens. As they [] upon the road, they [] some centurions, who informed them that Vitellius's army [] advancing [] Bedriacum, and that they [] by their generals with proposals for an accommodation. Celsus and Gallus commended their design, and desired them to go back with them to meet Cecina.

When they approached that general's army, Celsus [] in great danger; [] the cavalry [] beaten [] of the ambushade, happened to [] in [] van, [] they [] Celsus, than they advanced [] shouts against him. The centurions, however, put themselves [] him, and the other officers [] to them [] do him no violence. Cecina himself, when [] was informed of [] tumult, [] up [] quelled it, []

safety, even his their chief despaired of his. On the contrary, they crowded the gates; they called him emperor; they left no application untried; they kissed his hands, they fell at his feet, and he and he entreated him to do them, he give to his their enemies, he employ their hearts and hands to the last moment of their lives. They all joined in this one quest; and one of the private men, drawing his sword, thus addressed himself to Otho: "*Know, Caesar, what your soldiers are ready to do for you,*" and immediately plunged his steel into his breast.

Otho was moved at this affecting scene; but, with a cheerful and steady countenance, looking round upon the company, spoke as follows: "This day, my fellow-soldiers, I consider as a more happy one than that on which you made me emperor, when I was you thus disposed, and was so great in your opinion. But deprive me of my still greater happiness, that of laying down my own honour for so many generous Romans. If I am worthy of my empire, I ought to shed my blood for my country. I know the victory my adversaries have gained is by no decisive. I have intelligence that my army from Mysia is at the distance of but a few days' march; Asia, Syria, and Egypt, are pouring their legions upon the Adriatic; the forces of Judæa declare for us; the senate is with us; and the very wives and children of our enemies are so many pledges in our hands. But we not fighting for Italy with Hannibal, or Pyrrhus, or the Cimbrians; our dispute is with the Romans; and whatever party prevails, whether we or we conquered, our country will suffer. Under the victor's joy she bleeds. Believe, then, my friends, that I will with greater glory than reign: for I know no benefit that can be reap from my victory equal to what I shall confer upon her by sacrificing myself for peace and unanimity, and to prevent Italy from beholding such another day as this!"

After he had made this speech, and showed himself immovable to those who attempted to alter his resolutions, he desired his friends and such as were present, to leave him, to provide for their own safety. To those that were absent he gave the same commands, and signified his pleasure to the cities by letters, that they should receive him honourably, and supply them with the convoys.

He then called his nephew Cocceius,¹ who was yet very young, and bade him compose himself, and not fear Vitellius. "I have taken my care," said he, "of my mother, my wife, and children, as if they were my own. And for the same reason, I do for your sake, I deferred the adoption which I intended you: but I thought proper to wait the issue of this war, that you might reign securely if I conquered, and if I was overcome. The best thing, my nephew, I have to recommend to you is

¹ Tacitus and Suetonius call him Cocceius.

entirely ■ forget, nor yet to ■ well, that ■ emperor for your uncle."

moment after he heard a great noise and tumult ■ gate. ■ soldiers, ■ senators retiring, threatened ■ kill them ■ they moved ■ step farther ■ abandoned ■ emperor. Otho, in great ■ them, showed himself again ■ the door, but no ■ mild ■ supplicating air ; on the contrary, ■ cast such ■ and angry look upon the ■ turbulent part ■ them, ■ they withdrew ■ great fear and confusion.

the evening he ■ thirsty, and drank ■ little ■ Then he ■ two swords brought him, ■ having examined the points of both ■ long time, he ■ away the one and put the other under his arm. After this ■ called ■ servants, ■ many expressions of ■ gave them money. Not that ■ chose ■ lavish of what would ■ be another's ; for ■ to some ■ and ■ some less, proportioning his bounty ■ their merit, ■ paying a strict regard to propriety.

When he had dismissed them, ■ dedicated ■ remainder of the night ■ repose, and slept so sound that his chamberlains heard him ■ the door. Early in the morning he called his freedman, who assisted him in the care of the senators, and ordered him to make the proper inquiries about them. The ■ he brought was, that they ■ gone, and had been provided with everything they desired. Upon which he said, "Go you, then, and show yourself ■ the soldiers, that they ■ not imagine you have assisted ■ in despatching myself, and put you ■ cruel death for it."

As soon ■ the freedman ■ gone out, he fixed the ■ of his sword upon the ground, and holding it with both hands. ■ upon it with ■ much force, that he expired with ■ The servants who waited without heard the groan, and burst into a loud lamentation, which ■ echoed through the camp and the city. The soldiers ■ the gates with ■ pitiable wailings and most unfeigned grief, reproaching themselves for ■ guarding their emperor, and preventing his dying for them. Not ■ of them would leave him to provide for himself, though the enemy ■ approaching. They attired the body in a magnificent manner, ■ prepared a funeral pile ; ■ which they attended the procession in their armour, ■ happy was the man that could come to support ■ bier. Some knelt and ■ wound, some grasped his hand, and others prostrated themselves ■ ground, and adored him ■ a distance. Nay, there were ■ threw their torches upon ■ pile, and ■ slew themselves. Not that they had received any extraordinary favours ■ the deceased, ■ were ■ of suffering under ■ hands of the conqueror ; but it ■ that no king or tyrant was ■ passionately ■ of governing ■ they were of being governed by Otho. Nor did ■ affection ■ with his death ; it survived ■ grave, ■ in the hatred and destruction of Vitellius. Of ■ we ■ give an ■ its proper place.

After they had interred the remains of Otho, they erected a monument over them, which neither by its size nor by any pomp of epitaph, could excite the least envy. I have seen it at Brixillum; it was very modest, and the inscription only thus:—

TO THE MEMORY OF

at of thirty-seven, having reigned only three months. Those fault with his life more respectable, either for their numbers their rank, than those who applaud; for, though his life that of Nero, yet his death was nobler.

The soldiers were extremely incensed against Pollio, one of the principal officers of the guards, for persuading them to take the oath immediately to Vitellius; and being informed, some the spot, they others pass, solicited Virginius Rufus in a very troublesome way. They in to his house, and insisted that he should take the imperial title, or at least their mediator with the conqueror. But he who had refused to accept that title from them when they victorious, thought it would the greatest madness to embrace it after they were beaten. And he was afraid of applying to the Germans on their behalf, because he had obliged that people to many things contrary to their inclinations. He therefore went out privately another door. When the soldiers found that he left them, they took the oath to Vitellius, and having obtained their pardon, were enrolled amongst the troops of Cecina.

AN ACCOUNT OF WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND DENOMINATIONS OF MONEY,

FROM THE TABLES OF DR. ARBUTHNOT.

From the Tables of Dr. Arbuthnot.

	lb.	oz.	pwt.	gr.
The Roman libra or pound	16	0	0	0
The Attic mina or pound	18	0	0	0
The Attic talent equal to sixty-minas	108	0	0	0

DRY MEASURES

	peck.	gal.	quart.
The Roman modius	1	0	0
The Attic choenix, one pint, 15,705 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches nearly	0	0	1
The Attic medimnus	4	0	6

MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

						pint.	solid inches.
The cotyle	—	...	...	...	...	1	2,141
The cyathus	—	...	...	...	...	1	564
ch	—	...	...	...	...	6	25,698

MEASURES OF LENGTH.

						Eng. paces.		
The Roman foot	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1
The Roman cubit	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	1
The Roman pace	...	...	...	...	...	4	10	
The Roman furlong	...	...	...	...	...	120	4	
The Roman	...	...	...	...	...	967	0	0
The Grecian cubit	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	6
The Grecian furlong	...	...	...	...	...	100	4	4
The Grecian mile	...	...	...	...	...	805	1	0

N.B.—In this computation the English pace is five

MONEY.

						l	s	d	
The quadrans, about	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	0	0
The as	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	0	0
The sestertius	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1	3
The sestertium equal to 1000 sestertii	...	...	...	...	...	8	1	5	2
The denarius	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	7	3
The Attic obolus	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1	1
The drachma	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	7	3
The mina = drachmas	...	...	...	...	...	3	4	7	0
The talent = 60 minæ	...	...	...	...	...	193	15	0	0
The stater aureus of the Greeks weighing two Attic drachms	...	...	...	...	...	0	16	1	3
—darius	...	...	...	...	...	1	12	3	0
The Roman was of different value at periods. According the proportion mentioned by Tacitus, when it changed denarii, it was of the value as Grecian stater.									
						0	16	1	3

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